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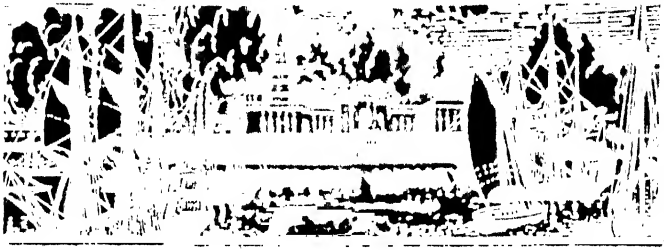
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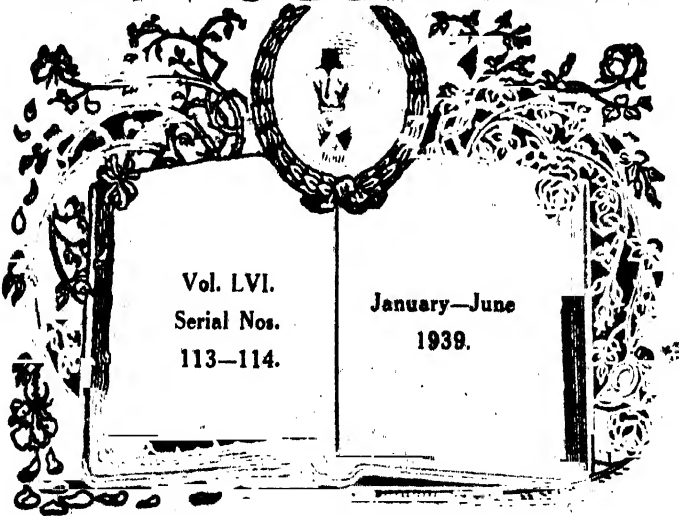
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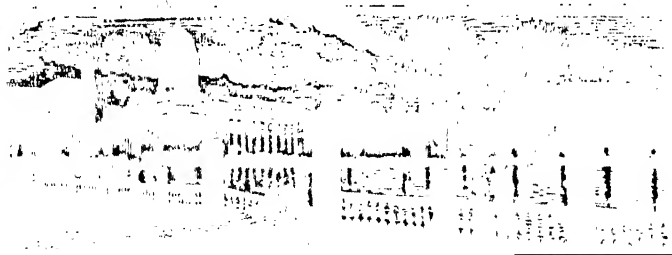


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* I-X Read at the last Poona session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Sri Ranga, the last Ruler of the Vijayanagar Empire in European Records

THE last emperor of Vijayanagar is known in history by the name of Srirangaraya, the third of the rulers of the name, according to historians, and actually the sixth of the name, according to the fuller dynastic list. His period of rule extended from A.D. 1642 to A.D. 1672, although his dates in inscriptions appear as late as A.D. 1681. The actual imperial activity of this ruler extends to even some twenty years previous to his accession, so that we might say that this particular personality was actively at work for well-nigh half-a-century. He descended directly from Ramaraya, who was overthrown in the battle of Rakshasatangadi, misnamed Talikota in older histories. The combined armies of the Bahmani Sultans met the Vijayanagar forces at this place, some fifty miles southwards from Talikota actually, and about twenty-five miles away from the south bank of the Krishna. The Vijayanagar forces were defeated after a day-long battle and broke up on hearing that Ramaraya himself fell, having been taken prisoner and beheaded, according to a story. The Vijayanagar forces abandoned the position, and there was nothing to prevent the Muhammadan forces, from marching on to the capital; but they took some time, and then proceeded into the capital, were in occupation for a while, searching for treasures and went back. The next brother, Tirumala, retired from Vijayanagar, carrying all the treasure that he could to Penugonda, where he ensconced himself in safety in the strong fortress. He soon recovered from the damages resulting from the defeat and was able not only to exercise authority over the whole of the Vijayanagar Empire, but also turn the balance against the Muhammadan neighbours in the north as his brother did before. After a few years of reign, he passed away and was succeeded by two of his sons, Sriranga and Venkatapati, one after the other.

The fall of Vijayanagar opened the way to the south for the Muhammadans, and Golkonda showed more activity in taking advantage of this by moving southwards across their frontier in the south. Both Sriranga and Venkatapati managed to keep them within their own limits, and pass the empire almost intact to their successors, except for one province, the viceroyalty of Srirangapatam, which had been taken by Raja Odaiyar, who set up rule on his own account over the conquered territory after having obtained the sanction of the emperor Venkatapati, and thus creating a title to rule this conquered territory. Emperor Venkatapati died childless as it is commonly believed, and, owing to the ambition of one of his four queens, a disputed succession followed. She put forward claims in favour of the child she had brought up as her own, and received the support of her powerful brother Gobburi Jaggaraya. This was the signal for the viceroys and governors to

take sides^{as} against Venkata's own nominee, his nephew Ranga, son of his elder brother Ramaraya, who was viceroy of Srirangapatam. This war of succession resulted ultimately in favour of one of the children of this nephew, whose whole family had been massacred by the malcontents led by Jaggaraya. This prince, Rama by name, happened to be a young boy of about ten at the time of the battle. When he succeeded and took his place actually on the throne, he would not have been very much older. The discontent among the powerful feudatories only grew worse as the war of succession resulted in a victory for this prince, chiefly through the exertions of the Tanjore Nayak among the viceroys and a loyal chieftain, the Velugoti chief, Yachamanayaka. The latter had actually to carry on the government for the young prince, and all the prejudices against him of course found vent in opposition to the prince. His reign was, therefore one of wars essentially, Yachamanayaka having had to fight constantly to bring the various governors and provinces near the headquarters to a sense of loyalty, neglecting for the moment the greater viceroys at distant places. The wars had been so constant and so uncertain in results that in A.D. 1622, the young ruler had to look about and nominate, from the collaterals, two princes, descendants of the great Rama who might well succeed him in case anything should happen to him. This was a wise step at the time, but did not prove quite so happy in its ultimate consequences. The young ruler Rama had to struggle hard during the next six or seven years, and ultimately managed to bring the central block of the empire under his control, the distant viceroys maintaining a doubtful allegiance. When in the next year or two he died, the imperial throne passed on to one of his nominees, the other nominee bearing his own share of rule. These two were descendants of Ramaraya, who fell in the battle of Rakshasatangadi. Among his children there were a number, and the first nominee of Rama was a grandson and the second a great grandson of the great Rama. Therefore they stood in the relation of uncle and nephew. In carrying on the administration, the actual ruler entrusted it to two powerful officers of his who happened to be related to him as brothers-in-law holding at the same time important governments round about the headquarters of the empire, Venkata and Ayyapa of the Damarla family. The emperor's nephew, Sriranga, the other nominee, however, was appointed to the charge of the territory immediately north of those of the powerful brothers-in-law, and involved as its responsibility the defending of the frontiers against Golkonda. Sriranga seems to have had his headquarters at Chandragiri. The emperor himself was living in Narayanavakam and his government extended down to the coast, so that the whole of the Golkonda frontier was directly in Sriranga's charge. He was ruling this part effectively and keeping the enemy out from advancing into the imperial territory. But the relation between the emperor and this nephew of his was perhaps not quite cordial owing probably to the influence of the brothers-in-law, whose policy as we could understand it, perhaps did not meet with the approval of young Sriranga. Under Venkata, the empire underwent a visible decline. Perhaps he was not entirely and altogether responsible for it; but as a ruler, the responsibility would be thrown on him, and at least so did Sriranga. He was apparently so dissatisfied that we have an inscriptional record of Sriranga of 1638

wherein he claims to be ruling on his own account as it were, while yet Venkata was alive. The date of this record which comes from Tirupati, almost Sriranga's capital, indicates perhaps a resolution already formed, to carry out a policy for the empire of his own notwithstanding the fact that he was not then the actual ruler. This state of things continued till the death of his uncle in A.D. 1642 when he succeeded to the throne, there being a very considerable body of important officials and chieftains opposed to his accession. That was the beginning of the internal trouble.

The advance of Golkonda, and later also of Bijapur, into what constituted the territory of the empire was really a matter that called for imperial attention if the empire was to remain intact. The Mughul advance in the Dakhan resulted in the abolition of the Ahmadnagar kingdom in the conquest of which Shah Jahan took assistance from Bijapur as well. When, from out of the territories of Ahmadnagar, he resolved to form a Mughal viceroyalty of the Dakhan, he imposed a treaty upon the southern states of Bijapur and Golkonda to keep them at peace with the new viceroyalty, and thus set them free for more active operations on the southern side within the territories of the empire of Vijayanagar. This change came about in the last years of Venkata, and the efforts of Sriranga for a more active policy almost about the same time, gives us a clear indication that he understood the situation and wanted to take such action as would save the empire from destruction then imminent. His efforts, therefore, were primarily to bring about an understanding among the greater viceroys and to bring them under his own control, so that the resources of the empire as a whole might be put against the aggressions of the Muhammadans as the only possible means of saving the empire. This great effort was Sriranga's and he struggled for thirty years to carry this noble ambition into actual execution.

It may be said, however, that, notwithstanding his great activity in such a good cause, the country sources of information regarding him are not many, and we are driven to the comparatively scanty resources of having to pick up stray details mostly from hostile sources in regard to Sriranga's imperial career. Among these the European records stand out as being not definitely hostile to the emperor, and may be regarded as more or less impartial records of events that came to the notice of the Companies' servants, located in the very midst of the empire, the English at Fort St. George, the Portuguese at San Thome, the Dutch at Pulicat, the Jesuits at Trichinopoly and the Danes at Tranquebar. Excepting the Danes there are records left by the other four, though all of them are not as yet available to us in a form for use. Referring to the years 1638 onwards though the emperor was Venkata, the administration is clearly said to have been in the hands of Damarla Venkata. In a list of documents compiled in Fort St. George in 1750, the firman conveying the grant of Madras is noted as having been given by Damarla Muddu Venkatapa Nayaka, son of Damarla Chennama Nayaka, the grand Vizier of the aforesaid sovereign (i.e. the Chandra-giri Raja) and lord general of Karnataka. The Dutch Dagh-Register for 1643-44 notes that he was the governor of a district round Madras, the yearly income of which is set down as six lacs of Pagodas, according to another account nine lacs. He had a brother, by name Aiyappa Nayaka, who is stated in an

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earlier volume of the same series as the brother-in-law of the king. So in the last years of Venkata's rule, these brothers-in-law carried on the administration in the name of the emperor. The elder brother was the governor of the province, called Wandiwash, while the younger brother held a subordinate government under that elder brother. Venkata's government of Wandiwash included both the British Fort St. George and the Dutch Pulicat, not to mention the Portuguese San Thome. There is an interesting record which finds note in the *English Factories in India*, volume for 1642: "The Golkonda army had overrun part of his territory and the rest including Armagon itself had been occupied by a neighbouring Nayak, to whom apparently, the defence of the frontier had been entrusted by his uncle, Venkatapati, the king of Vijayanagar. At the beginning of October, the king died and after a short delay, his nephew was elevated to the throne as Srirangarayulu, though many of the other Nayaks were opposed to his succession and gave him great deal of trouble". This is followed by another passage where the Golkonda forces are seen to be in occupation of the territory around Armagon: "The fear is expressed that the whole of the region might soon become subject to Muhammadan rule. The Nayak of Armagon is absolutely beaten out of all his country, it being possessed part by the king of Golkonda people and the major part by the Rayalwar. The Moors have encamped themselves, or rather seated themselves for the war, at a place called Cowle Geldancke, the chiefest place in all that country and Rayalwar hath a strong garrison at Venkatagiri and Armagon. Indeed, we are of opinion that the Moors will have all this country ere many years; for what with the King of Bijapur on one side and the King of Golkonda on the other, the Gentues themselves being divided among themselves, it is even impossible their country can continue." This information is also found in other records of the time. A letter dated November 5, 1642, contains the following statement. Speaking of the investments of the Dutch at Bantam, Cogan and others at Fort St. George wrote to the Company at home that they would not be as large as was expected, as they could not sell some of the commodities. "By reason of the wars, which now upon the matter is ended among the Jentues within themselves, by the death of the old King. What the Moors and Jentues will do, time must show¹". In regard to the death of the king, the following note is extracted from the *Batavia Dagh-Register*, 1643-44, recording² receipt of intelligence from Pulicat that the Karnatik king Venkatapati was dead after lying sick of a fever for five or six days, and that his body had been burnt on October 12, (N.S.) at Narrewarom (Narayana-vanam, fifty miles west of Pulicat); that he left no children except an illegitimate son, who by the law of the land could not succeed; and that after much dispute his brother's son, Srirangarayulu, had been elevated to the throne on October 29 (N.S.); but many of the chiefs were displeased at this choice. A letter from Pulicat to the commander of the Dutch fleet off Goa (*Hague Transcripts*, Series 1, Vol. XII, No 402) gives the date of Venkatapati's death as October 10 (N.S.). This extract from the *Dagh-Register* gives us precise

1. *The English Factories in India, 1642-45*, p. 76.

2. *The English Factories in India, 1642-45*, p. 67.

information as to the date of the death of Venkatapati and the circumstances under which Srirangarayulu succeeded to the throne as emperor of Vijayanagar.

The conditions under which Sriranga came to the throne were hardly propitious for a peaceful and successful reign for him. The very accession of this prince was displeasing to an influential party at court notwithstanding the fact that he was one of the two nominees who along with the old ruler was selected by the emperor Rama to succeed him. He seems already to have developed a policy of his own to counteract the advance of Golkonda forces, and we have already noted from his inscriptional records that, as early as 1638, he is described in terms as ruler in his own right from the districts on the northern frontier to which he had been appointed governor. This should have made him objectionable certainly to those who were exercising authority and occupying positions of importance under Venkata, particularly the Damarla brothers, Venkata and Ayyapa. These brothers could not have welcomed a masterful successor like Sriranga. Venkata probably made use of his position to undermine Sriranga's authority by intriguing with Golkonda which Sriranga could hardly be expected to condone. Sriranga naturally threw him into prison, and his brother Ayyappa raised forces and collected together all those feudatories who were friendly to bring about the release of his brother, and the Company's servants expected Venkata to be released on this account. A letter dated December 29, 1642, notes: "The wars and broils increasing in this country, and now (by reason of our great Naick's imprisonment) drawing near to us, we lately raised a third Bulwark of turf; and wanting guns to mount thereon, have resolved that the *Advice* shall spare us four millions for that purpose, because there is no danger of enemy in her way to Bantam, and when she comes there she may be again supplied". In regard to the imprisonment itself, the Dutch Dagh-Register makes the following plain statement: "Damarla Venkatappa had been detected in intrigues with Golkonda and had thereupon been imprisoned by the new king and deprived of all his territory, with the exceptions of Poonamallee and surrounding districts". Another letter dated January 4, 1643, recounts the difficulties for advancing money: "This country being all in broils, the old King of Karnatak being dead, so is the Naick of Armagon, whose country is all in the hands of the Moors, and (sic) who will ere long by all likelihood be masters of all this country; for our Naick not finding the respect from the new King as he expected, did make proffer to assist the Moors; but ere he could bring his treason about, it was discovered (and) he was apprehended by the king, who had seized great part of his country. But we believe he will be forced suddenly to restore it again and release him, for our Nayak's brother and kinsmen are levying an army for his rescue; who, with the help of the Moors on the other side (who are within half-a-day's journey of each other) will force his liberty or ruin the whole kingdom". We find an explanation of this as usual in the Dagh-

(1) The English Factories in India, 1642-45, p. 70.

(2) The English Factories in India, 1642-45, p. 70.

(3) The English Factories in India, 1642-45, p. 80.

Register, which just reports that the Muhammadans had just occupied Venkatagiri and that Damarla Venkata had already been released. The same letter quoted above follows with what took place subsequently: "From Pulicat about a month since, a piscash was sent by the hand of their merchant Moileya (Mallaiye, alias Chinana Chetty) unto the present King of Karnatt, estimated to be worth 4,000 (pagodas). The Portugals from St. Thoma have likewise been with their piscash with the King; but it comes far shorter of the former, for all that they carried, could not amount to full 200 pagodas. Somewhat is expected from us; but until our Naique and the King be either reconciled or absolutely outed, we intend to stand upon our guard and keep what we have". From the same *Dagh-Register*, Sir William Foster extracts the following: "The Wars in these parts made them glad to entertain some of their men as soldiers; for the Moores but five weeks past had advanced with their armies within three miles of Pulicat, and sent unto the Dutch Governor to surrender up the castle; and we did suddenly expect the same. But shortly after the Jentues came down with a great power, gave the Moores battle, routed their army and put the Moores to flight beyond Armagon where they are now gathering ahead again". Some explanation of this is found in a letter from the governor of Pulicat to Batavia a few months later: "The Dutch merchants at Pulicat wrote, in January, 1643, that Malaya (see p. 50) having been summoned to Tirupati by Srirangarayulu, had been graciously received and given the charge of certain districts; and that Gardenijs, the Governor of Pulicat, had taken the opportunity to send a complimentary letter to the new King, accompanied by the gift of a fine telescope (*Dagh-Register*, 1643-44, p. 244). He reported that on returning to Pulicat from Masulipatam on July 15 (N.S.) he found that the forces of the King of Golkonda, under 'Casy Ali (Kasim Ali), had subdued the whole of the neighbouring towns without opposition and were demanding the submission of Pulicat itself, promising at the same time that the Dutch should retain all their privileges. Of this demand no notice was taken, and the invaders, finding the fortress amply equipped, contented themselves with demonstration at a safe distance. The Nayak of Gingi, who was then in rebellion against Sriranga, advanced with the intention of joining the Golkonda army; whereupon the King recalled Kistappa Nayaka, who was operating against the Gingi chief, and restores Chinnana to favour. Kistappa fell unexpectedly on the Moors and completely routed them killing their commander and several other men of importance." In explanation of this comes in the following statement indicating how Mallaiya came into the position of influence almost in the place of Damarla Venkata: "Our neighbours the Dutch have been long projecting and now they have wrought it that Mollay, their merchant, is like to be as powerful with this King as the Serkayle (Sartkel) is at Golkonda; and, to ingratiate him thoroughly into his favour, they have assisted Mollay with men and guns for the subduing of castles of our

(1) *The English Factories in India, 1642-45*, p. 81.

(2) *The English Factories in India, 1642-45* pp. 193-4 & note Sep. 8th. 1644.

(3) *The English Factories in India, 1642-45*.

Nague for the King, or rather their own use; by which means our Nague is cashiered and he substituted, and is also made his treasurer and does even in a manner command all". It thus becomes clear that on Sriranga succeeding to the throne, Damarla Venkata intrigued with Golkonda and was thrown into prison first and ultimately dismissed. Mallaiya, the merchant doing the work of broker between the Dutch company and the country was, through the Dutch influence, advanced to his position. For the time being the Golkonda forces which had come as far as Pulicat had been defeated and turned back to a certain extent. All these events happened in 1643 and perhaps early in 1644. We might now regard Sriranga as having established himself in power and had succeeded in his first effort at keeping back the Golkonda forces. This state of things was not likely to continue. The Golkonda forces were likely to look to their own advantage and make incursions again, and unless they were permanently disabled from doing so, there was not much chance of a permanent peace. A letter from Fort St. George dated 25th August 1643 contains the following statement: "This country hath been, and still is at present, all in broils, one Nague against another, and most against the King; which makes all trade at a stand; but the king, by means of the King of Vizapore, who for 15 lacks of pagodas and 24 elephants hath sent some thousands of horses for his assistance, is like to have the better." But apparently Sriranga took action accordingly with the assistance of these Bijapur troops and ensured himself some little peace. As soon as Sriranga had established himself in power, the Fort St. George Company thought it time to get the charter of Damarla Venkata and Venkatapati renewed by Sriranga. They report that for securing this they had almost resolved upon sending Greenhill and four others to the king at Vellore, from whom they obtained a charter dated September 25, 1645. Sriranga also negotiated successfully for the English Company buying the goods that Mallaiya was able to take from the Dutch in the course of the wars. It is after this that we find the Dutch correspondence referring to the defeat of Sriranga within the walls of Vellore by a Bijapur army, and forced to pay a war indemnity. This was brought about through the intrigues of Mir Jumla, who, after suffering the defeat referred to before, negotiated both with Bijapur and Kanthirava Narasa Raja Odaiyar of Mysore to bring about an attack upon Vellore. As a result of this defeat Sriranga found some of the rebel Nayaks of the empire return to their proper allegiance and promised to support him as against his enemies. This defeat of Bijapur was taken advantage of by Mir Jumla to renew his invasion, and this time he made Udaygiri the object of his attack. There is a note concerning this: "Ever since the siege of Pulicat, which was begun the 12th August last, the King hath been in wars with the King of Vizapore (Bijapur) and in civil wars with three of his great Nagues; so that he to this time never had opportunity to send a considerable force against Pulicat, more than 4000 soldiers that lay before it to stop the ways that no goods should go in or out. And now the King of Golkonda hath sent his

(1) *The English Factories in India, 1642-45*, pp. 193-4 & note.

(2) *The English Factories in India, 1642-51* pp. 115-16.

general, Mir Jumla, with a great army to oppose this King ; who is advance (d) to the Jentues country, where the King hath sent Mallay, who hath got together 50,000 soldiers (as report saith), whereof 3,000 soldiers he sent for from Pulicat, to keep the Moors from intrenching upon his country". As usual again, an extract among the Hague Transcripts from a Diary at Pulicat supplies the illuminating information as to when this took place. It sets down that "the three rebellious Nayakas were those of Tanjore, Madura and Sinsider (Gingi ?) who inflicted a severe defeat on the royal forces in December, 1645." This note also refers to the mission sent by the English with presents of the value of 1,000 pagodas and obtaining a renewal of the cowle. This same is noted in a subsequent letter dated January 21, 1646, and another dated 26th February following: "This country is at present full of wars and troubles for the King and three of his Nagues are at variance ; and the King of Vizapore's army is come into this country on the one side and the king of Golkonda upon the other, both against this king. Mir Jumlah is General for the King of Golkonda, who hath already taken three of the King's castles, whereof one of them is reported to be the strongest hold in this kingdom ; where Molay was sent to keep it ; but in a short time surrendered it unto the Mir Jumlah, upon composition for himself and all his people to go away free ; but how he will be received by the King we shall advise you by the next, for this news came unto us but yesterday". In another Dutch document the fort referred to is Udaygiri undoubtedly, the famous fortress in the Nellore District, which Sir William Foster considers too far north, which perhaps is not quite the case. This pusillanimous surrender of Udaygiri threw Mallaiya into disgrace in turn and the necessary dismissal of this officer in the face of the enemy gave the advantage to those enemies. Vellore was now besieged by the joint armies of Bijapur and Golkonda, which is referred to in the following extract from Sir William Foster's introduction: "Then comes a long silence, but from the Dutch records we learn that Sriranga, after suffering a severe defeat under the walls of Vellore, was forced to pay a heavy indemnity to the leader of the Bijapur army, and that the Nayaks, sobered by the successes of the Muhammadans, returned to their allegiance, and promised to assist the King in maintaining the independence of his country. The siege of Pulicat ceased with the fall of Malaya from power ; and in May a fresh lease of the town and district was obtained from Sriranga."

It was about this time that Sriranga's authority should have extended northwards well into the Kurnool District where we have a duplicate record of his reign of a date in May 1647. This grant comes from a small modern temple of Venkatesa at Nandiyala. It refers to a voluntary contribution raised by the various classes of inhabitants of the district round Nandiyala and made over to a certain Timaiya, son of a Chapparam Desari Saruvaiya and this service was rendered for the merit of Hazarati Khan Khana Sahebulavaru (the Hon'ble Khan-i-Khanan Saheb) and the record refers itself distinctly to

(1) The English Factories in India, 1646-50, pp. 24-25.

(2) The English Factories in India, 1646-50, pp. 24-25.

the reign of Vira Pratapa Sriranga Rayulu-deva-Maharayulu ruling from Penugonda, thus showing that Sriranga's authority prevailed over the region though the actual rule was still under the Muhammadan general. It looks as though, in the popular estimation, this latter was no other than Mir Jumla from the actual style of reference. The festival of the decorated car provided for seems likewise intended for God Venkâteswara at Tirupati as the person to whom the collected money was handed over is set down as the son of a Chapparam Dasari, which would mean a wandering non-Brahman Vaishnava, who collected moneys for various purposes of service in the temple at Tirupati. In 1647, therefore, Sriranga's authority stood high even over that locality falling well within the limits of the more recent Golkonda conquests. This is illuminating in the face of the advance of Mir Jumla and his successful occupation of the territory all round Fort St. George, thus bringing him within a couple of days' march of Jingee as noted in a letter of January 4, 1647: "The wars and famine doth still furiously rage in these parts, and we think that there will be a period set unto the former before the latter; for the Anna Bobb Meir Jumlah hath taken the government of Pulicat and St. Thomas, setting the country all in order as he goeth along, and is now within two days' march of the King's court and no-body cometh to oppose him, the famine having almost destroyed all the kingdom; for out of our little town there hath died no less than 3,000 people since September last; in Pulicat as report saith, 15,000 and in St. Thome no less".

But soon after came a revulsion, and we find Sriranga being pushed back, and Mir Jumla advancing again to occupy the country round Madras effectively to lead the Company's servants to get a renewal of the charter by him, as is recorded in a letter dated October 9, 1647: "We had almost forgotten to advise you that the 16,000 rials of eight President Baker left us indebted at the coast at his going to Bantam was lent us by the King of Golcondah(s) Generall, who hath almost conquer'd this kingdom and reigneth as King under the title of Annabob (see p. 70). This 16,000 rials he lent us for one twelve months gratis; which debt we discharged at the arrival of the *Farewell*. So, in requital of the Annabobs curtezie, we gave him one of the two brass guns you sent out by the *Mary*, which he would not be denied of, whither he had lent us this money or no; otherwise he would not have confirmed our old privileges formerly granted us by the now fled Jentue King. So upon the delivering of this gun he gave it us here under his hand that he received the gun in full and contentable satisfaction for the loan of 16,000 rials of eight to the Company the whole space of one twelve month, and never hereafter would desire anything else for the same; and withal confirmed under the King of Golcondah(s) great seal all our former privileges in ample manner, as it was granted unto us by the aforesaid Jentue King. So by this means the gun hath saved you three times the value of it, by accomplishing two good acts at once."

1 The English Factories in India, 1646-50, p. 70.

2 The English Factories in India, 1646-60, p. 166-7, Oct. 9, 1647 and also letter by Ivy to Bantam same Vol. p. xxx. Aug. 19, 1648.

"A letter he carried declared that food was dear and cotton goods were difficult to obtain, as the country was being harried by fresh incursions of the Golconda and Bijapur armies, with the result that Porto Nova and Pondicherry were 'in a manner ruined', while Tegnapatam, the other chief centre of the piece-goods trade in that region, had to buy immunity from a like fate by continual presents". This perhaps was the beginning of Mir Jumla's advance towards Gingee to which he was invited by the Nayak of Madura, who called him in for his own ulterior purposes. Before the walls of Gingee, the Bijapur army which was with Tirumala Nayak, deserted to the Golkonda General who was quite inclined to let the Bijapur troops occupy Gingee. The Bijapur army then went into occupation of Gingee and took Tegnapatam, and the region round Cuddalore. This made Sriranga's position untenable, and he had to retire to Mysore for the time being. This is noted by Sir William Foster chiefly from the Dutch records: "1On the eastern side of India, at the beginning of the period under review, the Carnatic was still being harassed by the incursions of its Muhammadan foes, and by their constant dissensions and conflicts. The forces of the King of Bijapur had conquered the whole of the district centering in the famous fortress of Gingi, including the sea-board round Tegnapatam, of which Malaya was made Governor; and the Dutch promptly took advantage of this to obtain (August 1651) a grant of trade at that and the neighbouring ports (Hague Transcripts, Series i, Vol. XVII, No. 532, Vol. XVIII, No. 539). The unhappy Raja of the Carnatic had taken refuge with the Nayak of Mysore, who was at war with Bijapur (Ibid, Vol. XVII, No. 518). Meanwhile, to the northwards, the Nawab Mir Jumla, as general of the Golconda forces, was busy consolidating his position." The taking of Gingi is dated 1649, and its occupation by Bijapur could not have been to the satisfaction of Mir Jumla. Hostilities soon broke out therefore between the erstwhile allies of Bijapur and Golkonda, as the following note dated January 14, 1652 would indicate: "2Wars being commenced between the Moors of Golcondah and Visapore, who having shared this afflicted kingdom, are now bandying against each other, whilst the poor Jentue, hoping their destruction, watches opportunity to break off his present miserable yoke. In the interim many bickerings have been within two day's journey of this place, and it is reported that the Nabob with his whole army is besieged among the hills of Golcondah, whither he retired for more safety, by the Vizaporis; which hath so distracted this country that we could not adventure your monies abroad without too much hazard". Mir Jumla got the worst of it ultimately and had to conclude a treaty with Bijapur on payment of heavy indemnity. This treaty between the two must have been not much earlier than January 27, 1652, as the following note indicates: "3Have already advised the troubles 'arising from the quarrel between the Vizapore and Golcondah Moores; but lately peace is concluded between the two kings, being brought by the last for 600,000 (some say 900,000) pagodas; for which

(1) *The English Factories in India, 1651-54*, pp. xxiv, xxv.

(2) *The English Factories in India, 1651-54*, p. 99, Jan. 14, 1652.

(3) *The English Factories in India, 1651-54*, p. 111, Jan. 27, 1652.

sum he is again restored to possession of his late conquests, part whereof had in this bickering been surprized by the Vizaporeans, whose King for these many months was reported dead, though now resuscitated and said to be in better health than for diverse passed years". The difference between the two states of Bijapur and Golkonda probably was the outcome of the division of territory recently conquered from the Vijayanagar empire between them. The successful occupation of Gingi by Bijapur naturally would furnish cause of quarrel, and we hear that very soon after this treaty, Bijapur took possession of Penugonda, the capital of the empire of Vijayanagar and asked leave to march through Golkonda territory to Gingi. Mir Jumla declined to grant this freedom of passage and now made overtures to the ruler of Mysore and even made direct overtures to emperor Sriranga. This is noted by Sir William Foster chiefly from the Dutch records: "The war in the Carnatic was continued as strenuously as ever. According to the Dutch records, the Bijapur commander-in-chief, having mastered the important fortress of Penukonda in March, 1653, thereupon requested permission to pass through the districts held by the Golconda troops on his way to Gingi; but this was refused by Mir Jumla, who alarmed at the success of the Bijapur troops, was animating the Nayak of Mysore against them and also making overtures to the Carnatic Raja. The latter, relying on Mir Jumla's promises, returned to Vellore and raised a large army, hoping to drive the Bijapuris out of the country (Hague Transcripts, Series i, Vol. XIX, No. 550 (1)). The issue of all this is told in a letter from Batavia of November 7, 1654 (N.S.), which states that the Bijapur general had, after a long siege, captured Vellore and concluded a treaty with the Raja, by which Chandragiri was left to the latter, with the revenues of certain districts (Ibid. No. 551). Meanwhile the Dutch were endeavouring to live as peaceably as possible with both contending powers. This was not easy in the case of Mir Jumla, who (as we have seen) was much irritated by their refusal to grant passes to Indian ships desirous of trading with Ceylon, Achin, and all districts in which the Dutch were striving to establish a monopoly". These transactions probably relate to the year 1652, as we find that the Bijapur armies marched to Vellore, attacked and took possession of the fort and left emperor Sriranga with Chandragiri for his capital and the districts dependent thereon, as set down in these records. These took place soon after March 1653: The Company's servants complain as early as September 23, 1648 just before the fall of Gingi that "the body of this kingdom is harried by two foreign nations, who lie within two day's journey one of another with powerful armies, watch all advantage upon each other, yet both strive to make a prey of this miserable and distracted or divided people. These are the Golcondah and the Vizapore (Bijapur) Moores, the latter of which hath brought in 8,000 freebooters, who receive no pay but plunder what they can; whose incursions, robberies, and devastations hath brought a dislocation on a great part of the country round about, especially the three prime cloth ports, Tevenapatam, Porto Novo, and Pullachery (Pondicherry), of which the last two are in a manner ruined the other hardly preserving itself in a poor con-

(1) *The English Factories in India, 1651-54*, p. xxxiii.

dition with continual presents". The year 1653 therefore marks the depth that Sriranga's fortune had reached then.

It is immediately after this date that Mir Jumla gave cause of *dissatisfaction to Abdulla Qutb Shah of Golkonda and the suspicion of the Sultan that Mir Jumla was attempting to set up independently, led the latter to look for aid elsewhere. He made an effort to play Bijapur against Golkonda and failing there applied to prince Aurangzeb, who was in the Dakhan acting on behalf of his father. This is found recorded in a letter of September 18, 1654, and another of February 4, 1656, and summarised by Sir William Foster in the *English Factories in India, 1650-55*, page xxxiv: "In September, 1654, the English factory reported a fresh development in the unstable politics of the coast. The King of Golconda, Abdullah Qutb Shah, had long been jealous of the power wielded by his servant, Mir Jumla, and an open breach had now occurred between them (p. 290). The latter was suspected of an intention of making himself an independent sovereign of the territory he had conquered in the Carnatic but he was well aware of the difficulty of standing alone, and after making overtures to the King of Bijapur, he finally succumbed to the intrigues of Aurangzeb, who, as Viceroy of the Deccan, was eagerly watching for an opportunity to interfere. Mir Jumla agreed to enter the service of the Mogul Emperor; but rumours of his intention so alarmed Abdullah Qutb Shah that he sought to win back the friendship of his former minister, and the latter hesitated until the imprisonment of his family at Golconda towards the end of 1655—an act provoked by the haughty behaviour of his son, precipitated the crisis and drove Mir Jumla into the arms of Aurangzeb with disastrous results to the Golconda kingdom".

"In the booke (1) of transactions with the Nabob (you will) read how he hath intrenched on our privileges (in Madras) patam which was begunn by the Braminees me(mentioned in Mr.) Baker's tyme, who would take no notice of their (actions, but) supported them....In the meane tyme wele str(ive to keep what) wee have, until better certain warr from such various reports as pass in (these parts; but) suppose, if the King oremaster him, heele fly to the (Mogull for)shelter, who already begins to take his part". The suspicion against Mir Jumla was aggravated by the indiscreet behaviour of the son which led the Qutb Shah to throw him into prison and thus hurried up what was going to follow. Mir Jumla had to go away from Golconda to the protection of Aurangzeb's camp and was despatched therefrom to the court of Shah Jahan at Delhi. The absence of Mir Jumla from Golkonda was the opportunity for Sriranga to take the tide at the flood. Now that Mir Jumla was away, that part of the territory of Vijayanagar which he had taken was under dispute between him and his sovereign master, the Qutb Shah. Mir Jumla could not be quite so active in this region and anything that Sriranga might do to recover his territory would have the countenance of the Qutb Shah, if not the active support that it gained later on. This is found later on recorded in a Dutch letter from Batavia about the end of January 1657 which shows that

(1) *The English Factories in India, 1651-57*, p. xxxiv.

(2) do do do. 1655-60, Feb. 4, 1655.

Sriranga captured Tirupati and was planning out the conquest of the districts round about, which constituted the central block of his territory all the while: "This long imprisoned King at last returned to his citty, after (by reporte) the receipt of good news from the Mughull, who they say keepes the Nabob by him and will not permit him to returne to thesse countreys againe, and hath given him all the Curnatt (Carnatic) country to his disposall and yeares tribitt free. This is reported for truth; wither soe or noe (I) knowe not. But for certaine hee (i.e., Mir Jumla) hath lately sent an army of neare 10,000 horse to take possession of Curnatt, and at his comeing into the citty had not lesse then 50,000 horse and foote, richly accounted, which are all in pay, that marched before him."

The story regarding the disposal of the Carnatic was in effect, true. Abdullah Kutb Shah had done his best to retain that rich province, which had been conquered on his behalf by the Nawab; but Shah Jahan decided that it must be treated as Mir Jumla's *Jagir*, held directly from the Emperor, and the Golconda monarch was ordered to recall his officers from the province. As a Madras letter of July 7, 1656 (written, it is true, before the decision was known there) says:

²As for this country about us, tis indifferent quiet; continueing yett under the Nabob Government, whose officers still remain in theirre places of command, though the army be much lessened by his departure. (See Prof. Sarkar's *Aurangzib*, Vol. I, p. 245.). He hardly succeeded in this effort. The dispute between the Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla reached a head when on his report Shah Jahan intimated to the Qutb Shah that the Karnatic territory must be regarded as Mir Jumla's to be held under the great Mughal's authority, and warning the Qutb Shah from making any claims therefor. This naturally would lead the Qutb Shah not merely to countenance but to encourage actually Sriranga in his efforts. We find this recorded in the coast correspondence (*The English Factories in India*, 1655-60, page 91). This is found recorded again in a number of places which are set down below followed by a letter written on January 28, 1657 by Greenhill and Chamber which summarises the whole: "In which respect wee have not as yett broake their seales, but deferre their opening untill wee bee better informed to whome they belong, or the countrey settled in the Gentue Kings possession which would not only secure us from future trouble but much advance your affaires in these parts, for some good service wee have done him in assisting Conar citee (Koneri Chetti), his generell for these quarters; which business, if the success be suitable to the beginning, this place will bee better worth your owning then ever."

³Alsoe it was reported that the king of Golcondah had lett the countrey of Carnaticum again to the Rylæz; upon which the Kinge of the Jentues father-in-law, called Vengum Rajah, with a partye of souldiers tooke parte of the countrey and came to Peddapollium; which newes when Sidelee heard, not raising the siege nor comeing hither, returned to Pullecatt. (Possibly Peddanaikpetta, a ward of Madras is meant.).

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- (1) *The English Factories in India*, 1655-60, p. 91.
 (2) do do do do 1655-60, p. 94.
 (3) do do do do 1655-60, p. 95.

And all the country hereabouts (Punnamallee castle expected) rendered to the Jentu King's obedience, who now, in the Nabobs absence, is up in arms for the recovering of his kingdom, and hath already recovered a large part."

Next from a letter sent by the Madras factories to Bantan dated November 5, we learn that :

All these countries that were formerly conquered by the Nabob are now of late (in his absence at the Moghulls court upon the revolt, the Jentue King with diverse Nagues being in arms; some of whose forces are not at the seidge of Paleacatt, where tis said most of the Nabobs riches are stored. Here is nothing but takeing and retakeing of places, with parties of both sides, in all places; soe that tis very dangerous giving out monies for goods in these tymes. But wee hope ere long 'twill be settled, especially for us, if the King recovers his country."

And finally we have the report made to the Company by Greenhill and Chamber on January 28, 1657.

The warres in these parts have been an exceding hinderance to the progress of your business in this place; and the more through the treachery of Conarcity, whom the Jentue King made his generall in these parts about Punnomalee; which castle might have been easily brought in subjection, but he delayed the time until the Nabobs party had united their forces and formed a body to overpower him; whereupon hee basely fled to this towne with his army.

Nor are our Dutch neighbours in Pulliccatt altogether secure, for all their strength, should the Gentue King overcome, who yet is able to counterpoize the Nabobs partly and may happily get the day at last, if the Nabob come not in person to conserve his conquest; which is much to bee doubted, though his party report that hee is on the way from Agra as farre as Brahm-pore with a formidable army; but tis supposed Vizapore (Bijapur) will take him up by the way. As for Conarcittee, he rendered himselfe up to the Moores as a prisoner, but was received in state by the Comanders with more than accustomed honour in such cases; which, considered with his alliance and neere relation to Topa Kistnapa, the Nabobs generall, together with other circumstances and observations in his present deport and continued respect from Kistnapa, are sufficient to ground the generall suspicion of his betraying the king's army."

During 1656 therefore Sriranga had regained much of the lost provinces and was practically master of what was his own territory before. Even the Dutch found their position difficult as Sriranga laid siege to their principal fortress of Pulicat. As usual Sriranga was badly served, and it is the faithlessness and disaffection of his own officers that are again responsible for his not having achieved the measure of success that he should have. Notwithstanding the disaffection of his general Koneri Chetty going over to Mir Jumla's side, Sriranga had gained back much of his territory. Early in the year 1658, however, Sriranga's forces were ambushed successfully by Tuppacki

(1) The English Factories in India, 1655-60, p. 97.

(2) do do do do 1655-60, pp. 98-9.

Krishnappa, and this gave him a set back. Then follows the revolt of Poona-mallee, as against Mir Jumla and in favour of the king of Golkonda and the Golkonda ruler was expected to send assistance. Early in the year 1659, there is a note that the Golkonda forces under Kuli Beg inflicted a defeat upon Tuppacki Krishnappa in October 1658. These wars brought about a stringency in respect of prices, which is found referred to in the *English Factories in India, 1655-60*, page 257. Such was the commercial history of the Agency during the year. Of political events we hear nothing, except for a reference in a letter to Bengal of August 8, 1659, to the relief afforded by the rains, which had mitigated the previous scarcity and had brought down the price of grain. This scarcity had been partly due to the feeding of two great armies near us, presumably the troops of the King of Golconda and of the Raja of Chandragiri respectively; and the effect of these disturbances is seen in the fact that for much of the cotton goods sent home in 1659, it was necessary to go to Porto Novo and Pondicherry. Concerning the relation with the former ruler we have more information. (Note: From the Dutch records we learn that in October Kuli Beg, commanding the Golconda forces, inflicted a serious defeat on Tupaki Krishnappa, who was wounded and taken prisoner. The victor subdued all the districts round Madras, and the Dutch at Pulicat found themselves obliged to come to terms with him, while San Thome also submitted. (*Hague Transcripts*, sec. i, vol. xxiii, No. 639.)

There are two extracts which seem to throw light upon subsequent events. They relate to the doings of Shahji and his taking possession of the territory round Gingi. The Company's servants seem to have exerted their influence in shifting away from Fort St. George, which is noted in the *English Factories in India, 1661-63*, page 53.

“Having then such large privileges graunted by the Gentue Nague, then governor of this countrey, which have bin confirmed by the Gentue King, Nabob, and all Viceroyes since, it is soon answered whither ‘twere better to make a place anew or continue in that you have allready made; for to have a towne with fortifications as this is, in any of the King of Golconda’s dominions, if ‘twere now to doe, it would not bee money that could purchase it; and for to have any fortification allready built to your hands, unless St. Thoma and Tricombarr (Tranquebar), ther’s none— and for St. Thoma, the Dutch have bin endeavouring to gripe it into their hands, if the King of Golconda would consent unto it; having att severall times piscashed him with large presents that hee would stand newter. But a place of that circuite as is St. Thoma cannott bee sufficiently guarded without five times the number of souldyers as are entertheyned in your Fort St. George. For the situation of either, there cannott bee much difference, being but two miles asunder”. Another letter in the same volume, page 173 is more hopeful in its tone, and speaks of the Jentue king having some power about the Tanjore country and making efforts to recover his possessions again.

"¹According to Your Worships &c., order, wee have layed aside and and are provideing necessaryes for defence of the Fort. But wee hope, and upon probable grounds conjecture, that they will not trouble us here; for the Gentue is something powerfull about the Tanjore country, and if hee overcomes Balle Gaun (Bahlol Khan), the Vizapore's servant, 'tis thought hee' il meete with little or no oposition in all these parts; to which purpose Raja Cooly's camp is fix'd about Trivaloore (Tiruvallur), and the consequence will prove too dangerous to spare any of his force to besidge us". His success is reflected in another letter on page 382 of the same volume:²Besides, the Gentues are now gathering to a head against the Moores; and if they should be victorious, they would endeavour to do us a discourtesy, in regard to the help of our guns and gunners (which formerly hath byn lent them (i.e. the Moore) by your Agents here they (i.e., the Gentues) lost their country; and therefore it is of concernement to bee always in a posture of defence". About the end of the year 1668 we find that the territory under the authority of the Nabob of Golkonda Sultan that have to be negotiated with and the steps that the Company's servants took to do so. This is noted on page 291-92 of the *English Factories in India, 1668-69*: "It appears that towards the end of 1668 the Agent dispatched a Brahman named Venkatapati, who paid a visit to 'Chenapelle Meirza' at 'Trepettee' and was by him sent on, with a letter to the Nawab (Neknam Khan) at Golconda. The latter received the Brahman affably and told him what he wanted to 'keepe one of his people in the towne, as there was formerly, and that the Government of the towne should be acted by his people, as at Pollecat'. He further said that when he first took possession of the Cornutta (Carnatic) country and he being then with his army at Negalapuram, that Verona, with an Englishman and myself, we went to visit him at that time and carried him a letter from one of our former Captain, wherein was mentioned that the towne was rented by the English and that they would have it in the like manner to be always continued; and besides this, that he at that time had one called Ancapa Nague, unto whom was given the title of Serlaskareen of all those countries, whom we then brought before him, and we made him speak how Cinapatam was formerly made in his fathers name and that, if the Nabob should give leave that the said towne should remaine under the English government, that he would be accomptablee for the yearly rent, taking that charge upon him. Also the Nabob told me that at that time he could not only give his consent to his present petition, but if he should have desired then to have Pollecatt, Chinapatam, or any other place, he should have given his consent freely, for it was necessary to do so then.

He had since, however, changed his mind and had decided to place a representative in Madras. Of this he had informed the Agent several times, without receiving a satisfactory reply. The Brahman replied that the English Company never allowed any changes to be made without their express con-

(1) *The English Factories in India, 1661-64*, p. 174.

(2) do do do. *1661-64*, p. 382.

sent ; whereupon the Nawab desired him to write to the Agent to obtain the necessary permission. In making this report (March, 1, 1669), the Brahman added that he and his five or six attendants were all sick ; that food was very dear, rice being 'at 7 great cash per veece (Viss) and 16 cash for every bundle of grass for the horse ; and that he had no money to fee the Nawab's porters and bakerdarrs. He requested, therefore, a supply of money and also of articles for presents."¹ With 1668 we cease to hear of the activities of Sri-ranga in these records. He seems now definitely to retire from active operations on this side, and is found throwing in his lot within the territory included in Mysore. His name is found in inscriptional records as late as 1681 and during the dozen years after 1668 he appears to have ceased to play quite an independent part and seems dependent on some of his feudatories who made use of his name to serve their own particular interests.

There are Jesuit letters bearing upon at least part of this period, particularly the reports of the Fathers of the Madura Mission. The ²first letter is a letter of Proenza written in 1659 which records at the end that what is contained in the letter of political events relate to the last three years. It is more or less a correct account but includes in its narration events earlier than 1656, and throws some light upon the order of some of the subsequent events. The next letter is of date 1662, and covers the interval of three years between the first and this. There is not much that it contains relating to the emperor, or in the letters that followed which have more or less to do with the southern Nayaks, the Bijapur invasion and the ultimate Mahratta conquest of Tanjore, etc. They are of value for this period only to an inferior degree. Nevertheless the letters are very important as confirming what we find from other sources.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR

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1. *The English Factories in India, 1668-69*, pp. 291-92.
 2. do do do 1655-60, p. 257.

Hyder Ali's Relations with the British

(1775 - 1780)

(*Based on the records in the Imperial Records Dept.*)

IN 1775, Hyder informed the ambassadors of Muhammad Ali that as their master did not wish for friendship it was Hyder's business to be upon his guard and take measures on his part.¹ After this, every year Muhammad Ali would report the progress of Hyder's preparations and the certainty of his invasion. But his predictions came to be treated with ridicule, the Madras people regarding these repeated warnings as merely false alarms. The only consequence of all this was that the Madras Government affected to disbelieve the news service of Muhammad Ali and remained utterly unprepared.

But Hyder was true to his word and made no secret of his attitude or of his preparations. Free from the annual Maratha inroads on account of the chaos prevalent in Maharastra, Hyder could now take Ratnagiri and Bellary. It was now apparent to everybody that he would next attempt to take Gooti from Morari Rao, Adoni from Basalut Jung and Kurnoul from its foudjar. These chieftains were naturally uneasy and were anxious to enter into an alliance with the British. Muhammad Ali argued, "There is no time to be lost, for should Hyder get possession of Cudappa and subject the neighbouring sardars, it may then be too late to attempt to stop him."² He thus gave sufficient warning but in 1776, the Government of Fort St. George would not raise a finger in support of Morari Rao when Hyder was besieging Gooti. After a prolonged siege Hyder took it and sent Morari Rao and his family to his state prison. Three years later when mutually recriminatory letters were passing between Hyder and Madras Governor, the latter wrote—"If I were disposed to complain, you have furnished me with ample grounds in the reduction of Morari Rao who was included in the Treaty of 1769 as our friend and ally and by your proceedings against the Zamindars of Cudappah & Carnoul and with respect to Basalut Jung, against whom I also hear you have some designs."³ Perhaps conscious of this impolicy of having allowed Hyder to overpower Morari Rao, the Govt of Fort St. George showed the greatest zeal in supporting Basalut Jung thereby alienating the Nizam. They thus sought to make up for a sin of omission by a sin of commission. But chronologically the episode of Basalut Jung comes later.

The civil war raging among the Marathas had enabled Hyder to crush Morari Rao. He tried to fish in the troubled waters by siding with Raghoba against the ministerialist party and his plan was to occupy the Maratha territory

1. Secret Progs. 23. Oct. 1775 : The Verbial Narrations of Aly Nawaz Khan.

2. Translation of a letter from Nabob of Governour wynch, 4 Dec. 1775.

3. Secret Proceedings—13 th May—1779.

between the Kistnah and the Tungabhadra. He was engaged in 1777⁴ in fighting with Hari Pant, the general of the ministerial party. So long as this Maratha preoccupation lasted and it lasted up to the end of May, 1778, Hyder would not have the opportunity even if he had the inclination to face the British at the same time. An identity of interest existed to some extent as both Hyder Ali and the British supported Raghunath Rao against the ministerialist party. This was undoubtedly an opportunity to bind him closely as an ally. But the aspect of affairs was altogether very unfavourable and this requires some explanation. The President and Council of Fort St. George wrote "Hyder has long solicited and even importuned this Govt. to enter into a close union with him but the consideration of temporary inconvenience arising from the terms of such an union, which could only be founded upon engagements of mutual assistance and support has hitherto obstructed the measure and Hyder has been consequently left in difficulty and distress to seek aid of foreign nations particularly the French. The reluctance on our part to accept the repeated offers made by Hyder at a time when our assistance might have been useful to him, will no doubt render it more difficult to obtain assistance or at least of a neutral conduct on his part."⁴

The President and Council of Bombay proposed in a letter dated 9th May, 1778, to appoint a Resident at the court of Hyder Ali to penetrate and counteract French and Dutch designs. The French and the Dutch maintained Residents at the court of Hyder Ali. But even in this matter there was some difficulty as it was necessary to bring Muhammad Ali to consent to it. In a letter written from Bengal to Madras, we read, "We request you will use your endeavour to convince him of the appointment, to obviate any jealousy it might create." The Madras Govt. naturally argued that considering the situation of Hyder with respect to the Carnatic and the Company's possessions on the coast to send an intelligent person from the Madras Presidency to reside at Hyder's court than from Bombay.⁵

But now the British and the French found themselves at war and this introduced a complicating factor in Anglo-Mysore relations. Had not the British commenced this war with so great a superiority by occupying Pondicherry in October, 1778, Hyder who was so strongly in the interests of the French might have taken a more decisive attitude from the beginning. To keep Hyder neutral amidst so many enemies opposed to the British, it was necessary to preserve the superiority of British arms and to be thoroughly prepared for any contingency. But the disastrous retreat of Tulegaon and the convention of Wargaon showed such a glaring weakness on the western front that Hyder's attitude stiffened and more so because he fully knew how unprepared the Madras Govt. was. The Govt. of Madras was not altogether unconscious of this aspect of affairs. As early as the beginning of 1777, the President and Council of Fort St. George wrote, "We have resolved on the increase of the number of our battalions by reducing the present establishment of 1000 men in each to 700, which will enable us to garrison the forts of the Nabob under

4. Secret Proceedings—10th Aug, 1778

5. Secret Proceedings—25th June, 1778

our charge and to take the field at a short notice with 2 battalions of Europeans, 3 Companies of artillery and 9 battalions of Sepoys. But troops cannot be maintained, military operations cannot be conducted without money and herein we fear we should fail. The very report of a force of 1500 Europeans & 12,000 black troops assembled with the means of payment in our treasury would command respect from all and would be likely to deter any from attempting to disturb the Carnatic."⁶ But diagnosis is not cure. The same Govt. reported in February, 1779, "It is certain that we are by no means in a condition with respect to resources ever to oppose any powerful attempts either of the French or of Hyder Ali."⁷ Even now Hyder might not have been free to war with the British, had not the escape of Raghoba from the custody of Sindhia to General Goddard's camp induced the ministerial party at Poona to change their attitude to Hyder and complete an offensive alliance against the English. These two enemies of the British had to some extent balanced each other because of their mutual animosity. But the diplomatic triumph of the ministerial party created a very difficult situation for the British. The British Expedition to Mahe has been regarded as one of the events that precipitated the 2nd Anglo-Mysore war. Mahe was a French possession through which Hyder received his military supplies. When the British expedition under Braithwaite was sent, Hyder's vakil formally acquainted the President of Madras that his master considered the settlement of Mahe together with all the settlements on the Malabar coast as under his protection. Hyder himself wrote, "In my country there are factories belonging to the English, Dutch, Portuguese and the French. Besides these there are many merchants here who are considered as my subjects. If any one entertains designs against those traders, I will without doubt take the best and most considerable methods to give them assistance."⁸ The British Govt. could not be expected to acquiesce in this. The question, however, was one of expediency and the Madras Govt. quite logically argued, "It became a question with us whether it would be safe or prudent to pursue this expedition we had set on foot against Mahe. We saw the additional risk to which it was exposed and the inconvenience of sending such a body of troops at this time out of the Carnatic but we perceived also the particular advantages that would result from the successful execution of our measures. We saw that this was the only opportunity that might offer for removing the disadvantageous impressions which have been occasioned everywhere by the late defeat. That the appearance of diffidence and timidity on this occasion would strengthen and confirm these impressions and probably operate more to our prejudice than any failure that would happen from the prosecution of the enterprise and lastly that the withdrawing of our troops would be inevitably followed by the capture of our settlements at Tellicherry which, though perhaps no important in itself, would in the eyes of the country powers be considered as a victory of no small consequence to the French and perhaps induce those now wavering to declare openly

6. Secret Proceedings—20th January 1777.

7. " 18th March 1779.

8. Secret Proceedings—18th March, 1779. From the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn to the Governor,

in their favour."⁹ Mahe fell on the 19th March, 1779, in spite of the fact that Hyder's troops assisted in its defence and his flag had been hoisted on it. But it must be admitted that even if the British had withdrawn in view of the protests of Hyder, that would not have prevented the war made almost inevitable by other causes unconnected with the French war.

Another incident that is said to have precipitated the 2nd Anglo-Mysore War, was the stipulation of the Government of Fort St. George for the unconditional defence of Basalut Jung. Briefly narrated the facts were these Basalut Jung, a brother of Nizam Ali, was in the enjoyment of his jagir of Adoni, Guntur and other parts. As he was suspected of being very pro-French and the treaty between Nizam Ali and the British entailed Guntur on the East India Company, on the demise of Basalut Jung, the Govt. of Fort St. George was authorised by the Govt. of Bengal to take steps to remove the French influence from the Court of Basalut Jung. Though approaches were made to Nizam Ali, no further steps were taken until December, 1778, when the President and the Council of Fort St. George, in consequence of overtures made by Basalut Jung, "proposed an agreement for farming the Guntur Sircar during his life and for obtaining the dismissal of French troops in his service by supplying their place in the protection of his country by detachments of the Company's forces."¹⁰ But this excessive eagerness to foil the French did not take cognisance of other circumstance relating to Basalut Jung. This loose condition of defending the other possessions of Basalut Jung was what created difficulties. In order to give him assistance for the protection of Adoni and Raichur threatened by Hyder's onward march, the Govt. of Fort St. George ordered a Company and a half of European artillery, 2 Companies of infantry and 4 battalions of Sepoys. "But the route of this army by the province of Kurpa & Kurnool amounting to at least 200 miles of road distance was across the territories of 2 powers, namely Hyder and Nizam Ali and no previous notice was given nor permission obtained to pass a military force through these territories. Naturally the Nizam and Hyder Ali appeared extremely jealous of these proceedings and used all their endeavours with Basalut Jung to make him keep the Guntur Sircar in his own hands and stop the march of troops. The Nizam went so far as to propose in strong terms to his brother that his district should be given at rent to Hyder and Hyder with a view of terrifying him invaded his country with a considerable force and threatened the entire conquest of it if he hesitated to break off his agreement with the Company. Basalut Jung submitted to the will of the powerful chiefs and the march was countermanded."¹¹ But it cannot be denied that this incredible bungling besides making British opposition too patent to Hyder, served to alienate the Nizam. The reasons are not difficult to find. "The brothers in the despotic govts. of India are all pretenders to the masnad, despotism being only supported by a few for the great military servants of the prince and by their envy and mutual suspicions of each other. There is

9. Secret Proceedings—1st March 1779 p. 326, 327

10. Secret Proceedings—20th March, 1780, p. 415

11. Secret Proceedings—20th March, 1780 p. 416

foundation for jealousy and Basalut Jung being a prince of the governing family, the Nabob will never be easy while British troops remain with him. A proper provision of jagir and personal security may be guaranteed to him as long a party continues with him, it will be difficult either to satisfy the Nabob's pride or remove his suspicions Hyder is no less jealous of our getting a footing in Adoni, having marked that country as a quarry for the first favourable opportunity."¹² Thus it is apparent that this was the most impolitic step in the whole course of transactions and was undoubtedly largely responsible for stiffening the attitude of Hyder and Nizam Ali.

Hyder recapitulated his grievances against the Govt. of Fort St. George in the following terms. "Your territories lay contiguous to mine from Dindigul to Cudappa and continual disturbances are raised by you in my country. The Chief of Telicherry gives protection to the Nairs dependent upon me, keeps their families in his factories, assists them with lead, powder, firearms, and commits disorder in my country. When you are thus acting in this unruly manner what treaty subsists between you and me or which of us has violated it."¹³

N. K. SINHA.

12. Secret Proceedings—14th Feby. 1780 p. 240

13. „ —8th May, 1780 p. 607

State patronage to Hindu and Muslim religions during the East India Company's Rule

(Based on Parliamentary Papers).

NOTHING would be more surprising to us, Indians of the twentieth century, than the sight of a platoon of British soldiers firing a salute at the gate of the Kalighat temple on the occasion of any Hindu festival; or of a party of Highlanders, for instance, marching, as a guard of honour, along the streets of Calcutta, with the Mohurum procession. Yet in the early nineteenth century, the sight of British and Indian soldiers of the E. I. Company marching up and down the streets of important Indian towns, as a mark of honour to Hindu and Muslim festivals, and the firing of salutes at appropriate places or from the fort of a town, were common enough.

It was the time when the E. I. Company's attitude towards Hindu and Moslem religions was that of a patron or protector. A policy of expediency was adopted in this matter by the Company's Government in India from the very beginning, in order to win popular support and foster the belief among the people of the land that the new rulers were the protectors of their religion. So firmly convinced were the authorities in those days of the soundness of their policy, that, when certain Christian missionary Societies pointed out that the partisan attitude of the rulers was unbecoming of them as Christians, and requested the Govt. to withhold patronage from Hindu and Muslim religions, the Court of Directors, supporting the views of the then Governor-General, recorded the following opinion:—

“We fully concur in the opinion expressed to the effect that, if Religious Societies and Religious Publications recommend the adoption of measures, and that if, as it were in consequence of them, the Govt. immediately carries those recommendations into effect, our native subjects may conceive that we, as Rulers of the country, now identify ourselves with missionary labours. Nothing could be more dangerous than the prevalence of such an impression.”¹

The “Religious Societies” aforementioned were some Christian Mission-

1. Despatch to the Governor-General in Council (Revenue Department) dated 18th October, 1837—Blue Book (House of Lords) 1839, Vol. 7, paper No. 261

ary Societies and the " Religious Publications " were certain pamphlets etc. issued by them² denouncig the Govt. officers' participation in Hindu and Moslem religious festivals. The active participation of the East India Company's Government in Hindu and Moslem religious ceremonies and festivals was of the following nature :—

The Government appointed officers to manage Hindu temples, i.e., to admit pilgrims, to look after the daily worship of the gods and goddesses (often offerings were made by European Christian officers), to collect the money and other offerings to the deities given, and the taxes paid, by the pilgrims, to make payments to the priests, to send out salaried or commissioned agents to distant parts of the country for "pilgrim hunting," etc., etc.. Similar services were rendered to the Moslems' mosques, imambaras and Idgahs. On occasions of special festivals, troops were ordered to march out as guard of honour to religious processions and to fire salutes at times. Sometimes Christian officers of the army demurred to identifying themselves in this way with Hinduism and Islam ; and there are cases on record of some Moslems and Christians in the army being punished for disobeying Govt. orders in this connection.

The first open attack made on this policy of the Govt. came from the Christian Missionaries of India. From the available evidence, it appears that a conscientious and public-spirited Christian Missionary by the name of Rev. Mr. Peggs, was the first man to utter a word of protest. Mr. Peggs came to India in 1821 for missionary work, but totally wrecked in health, returned in 1826, to England where he tried his best to draw the attention of the Govt. at home as well as of the British Public to the undesirable religious policy of the E. I. Company's Govt. in India.³ His cry, it seems, was taken up by other missionary bodies, and ultimately by the Christian officers of the Company's Govt. with the result that a strong, vigorous agitation continued for some years, until the British Govt. in India discontinued the said policy.⁴

In the first stage of agitation, the E. I. C's Govt. in India strongly opposed it ; and the policy of patronage to Hindu and Moslem religions was warmly defended. In a despatch from the Court of Directors to the then Governor-General (Lord William Bentinck), it is stated that the latter in his minute of 25th March, 1831, had expressed the following opinion, viz., that.

"For himself he deems it the bounden duty of a Government ruling

2. For the Christian Missonaries' Publications on the subject, vide.....

(a) Letter from Rev. Mr. Peggs to Viscount Melbourne, First Lord of Her Majesty's Treasury, published in London, 1841.

(b) "India's Cries to British Humanity" by the same author.

(c) "An appeal of the friends of religion and humanity to their fellow—Christians on the propriety of dissolving the connection of British Government with Idolatry in India"—published by Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1838.

(d) The accounts of Rev. Mr. C. Lacey (1840) and of Rev. Mr. Bampton (1821) etc., etc.

3. Vide the writings of Mr. Peggs mentioned above.

4. Act 10 of 1840 and Despatch of 20/2/ 1833.

over a Hindu and Moslem community, and professing a respect for their religion and Customs, to protect and aid them in the exercise of those harmless rites which are not opposed, like Suttee, Infanticide and Self-Immolation, to the dictates of humanity and of every religious creed ; he, therefore, thinks that all those places of pilgrimage, with those who frequent them, are, upon principle, entitled to our special care."⁵

To meet the objection raised against the pilgrim tax upon Hindus, the collection of which was an important item of work in connection with control of Hindu places of pilgrimage, the Governor-General said "that a tax upon pilgrims is just and expedient." Both he and the Court of Directors were of the same opinion as to the way in which the money thus collected should be spent, viz.,

"that the Revenue should be first applied to the Repairs of the Temples connected with the comforts of the pilgrims and that the surplus may be properly expended in Roads and Seraces, contributing no less to the convenience of the pilgrims than to that of the public."⁶

The above sums up the policy of the Company's Govt. in religious matters in general and with regard to the pilgrim tax in particular.

Let me now try to give some account of the working of this policy of the E.I.C's Govt. in India. We get minute details of this matter from the literature published by the Christian missionaries of the day who started the agitation particularly for "dissolving the connection of British Govt. with Idolatry in India." Apart from this literature, there is another source to which we can turn, viz., a memorial submitted to the Government by nearly two hundred civil and military officers including the clergy of the Company's Govt. in Madras.⁷ The following quotations from the memorial will give a clear idea of the state of things obtaining at the time. The memorialists begin thus :—

"we venture to express the pain with which we behold the Christian Govt. of this Presidency and its officers affording encouragement to and still identified with the Idolatry and superstition of our Native fellow subjects in opposition, as it appears to us, to the orders on this subject of the Hon. the Court of Directors addressed to the Supreme Govt. under date 20th. February 1833,⁸ to the word of God....."

The following were the grievances of the memorialists, from which we can understand how the then Govt. and its officers were "still identified with the Idolatry and superstition" of Hindus and Moslems :—

"(1) It is now required of Christian servants of the Govt. both civil and military, to attend heathen and Mahomedan religious festivals, with the view of showing them respect."

5. Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General dated 20th February, 1833

6. Ibid.

7. Referred to in Despatch dated 18th October, 1837. Also see Blue Book, 1837, Vol. 43, paper No. 357.

8. See *Infra*.

- “(2) In some instances they are called upon to present offerings and to do homage to Idols.”
- “(3) The impure and degrading services of the pagodas are now carried on under the supervision and control of the principal European and therefore Christian officers of this Govt. and the management and regulation of the Revenues and Endowments, both of the pagodas and mosques, as vested in them under the Provisions of Regulation VII of 1817, that no important idolatrous ceremony can be performed, no attendant of the various idols, not even the prostitutes of the temple, be entertained or discharged, nor be the least expense incurred, without the official concurrence, and orders of the Christian functionary.”
- “(4) The British officers with the troops of the Govt., are also now employed in firing salutes, and in otherwise rendering honour to Mahomedan and Idolatrous ceremonies, even on the Sabbath Day ; and Christians are thus not unfrequently ‘compelled by the authority of the Govt. to desecrate their own most sacred institutions and take part in unholy and degrading superstitions.’ (Another, but a minor, point alleged by the memorialists was that Protestants were required to be present at and participate in Roman Catholic rites).

A question that naturally arises in this connection is . . . “How did Hindus and Moslems like this state interference in religious matters ? In the memorandum under discussion, it was mentioned that the Christian Govt. officers’ “association and interference with religious services, mosques, endowments” etc. was resented by Mahomedans ; and, though, “Some heathens feel gratified at the honour shown to the Idols,” yet the mass of the Hindus disliked it, for example, the thousands of poor people who were “forced from their homes by the police under orders of the Collector and Magistrate” to draw the car of Jagannath, without being paid, in most cases, any compensation, resented it.

The memorialists, therefore, prayed that it be not hereafter required of any Christian servant of the State, civil or military, of any grade, to make an offering, or to be present at or to take part in any idolatrous or Mahomedan act of worship or Religious festivals ; that the firing of salutes, the employment of military Bands and of the Government troops, in honour of idolatrous or Mahomedan processions or ceremonies and all similar observances be discontinued ; that such parts of Regulation VII of 1817 as identify the Govt. with Mahomedanism or heathenism be rescinded”⁹ The memorialists were not content with merely making general complaints ; They gave specific instances of civil and military officers actively participating in Hindu and Moslem religious functions, under orders of Govt. The following are some of the instances¹⁰:—

9. The Court of Directors' Despatch dated 18th October, 1837.

10. Appendix A to the Memorandum quoted above.

A

"Compulsory attendance of the servants of the state at Mahomedan and Heathen religious ceremonies."

(1) Subadar Tahir Khan of the "15th Regiment" was tried by Court Martial on 2nd October, 1827, for saying that he would rather forfeit his commission than command the escort for the Dushera festival.

(2) "The Nagpur force is likewise employed in doing honour annually to Idolatry at the Hindu festival of Dushera."

"On the day of the festival, some European and "native" troops, both infantry and cavalry used to march from Kamptee to Nagpur (distance of 10 miles and assembled on a field near the city where they joined "the Rajah's troops in a general discharge of guns and musketry," when the Rajah finished "his poojah of sacred tree."

(3) At Trivandrum (capital of Travancore) there is a temple of the god Padmanava inside the fortress.

Once a year on a certain day the Idol used to be taken to the sea beach, in a grand procession, to be bathed in the sea. In 1828, the above-mentioned 15th Regiment was stationed at Trivandrum. The festival fell on a Sunday. By order of the authorities, the Regiment arrayed in Review order stood on one side of the road leading to the sea. From 2 o'clock, the troops stood there. At about 5, the Idol emerged into the street and "the whole battalion had to present arms." Then, at 5, the procession started, the troops marching on both sides. The Brahmins carrying the sacred pots and other things and the Idol, showed by their looks and attitude their repugnance of the "untouchable" Christian and Mahomedan troops and kept at a distance from them. Only the Nair battalions were allowed to go up to the sea, but the other troops were ordered back; because, according to the custom, Christians and Moslems were not to see the Idol which would be exposed at the time of the bath.

(4) "On the third Sunday in Lent, 1834, the whole of the European artillery at Trichinopoly were kept from church, and employed the greater part of that day of sacred Rest in firing a series of salutes in honour of a Mahomedan festival."

(5) "In Sept. 1835, the Drummers (European) of a native (19th) Regiment, being required to attend at the procession of the Dushera, refused, stating that as Christians, they could not take part in a heathen ceremony; they were, in consequence, placed in confinement while the circumstance was reported to the higher authority The Drummers were declared to have been guilty of a breach of discipline for which they were ordered to be discharged from service The men were subsequently pardoned but only on their expressng deep contrition and promising never to repeat the like offence."

(6) The "Standard" newspaper of February, 1836, published the following news:—

"*The Ramzan at Trichinopoly* A correspondent wrote that the

European Artillery marched through the streets from 5 in the morning to 3 in the afternoon, in company with a crowd of Mahomedans. They were in attendance on the great Mullah on his way to the Edgah to perform his devotions."

(7) Extracts from Garrison orders :—

- (i) ".....A Royal salute to be fired from the Saluting Battery at noon to-morrow on the occasion of the Pungal festival" (Fort St. George, 10th January, 1836).
 - (ii) "....A Royal salute to be fired from the Saluting Battery at noon to-morrow on the occasion of the Ramzan festival." (21st January, 1836).
 - (iii) "To-morrow being the conclusion of the Ramzan festival, a company complete, under the command of a Native officer in full dress, with one drummer and one fifer, from the 46th Regiment N. I., as well as Brigade of Six Pounders, with the requisite party of Artillery attached, to parade to-morrow morning at 6 o'clock, at the chouk (square) in the Fort." (Trichinopoly, 19th January, 1836).
- ".... A Royal Salute to be fired at the chouk, another at the Edgah, and the third on the return of the procession to the Fort." (Trichinopoly, 19th January, 1836).

On the last order the comment in the memorial was as follows :—

"The Artillery alluded to are Europeans and they were employed on this duty from 5 A.M. to 3 P.M. exposed to a burning sun, and were required to accompany and, therefore, to form part of the Mahomedan procession to the Edgah and back.

B.

OFFERINGS TO IDOLS ¹¹

Extract from the official record made by the (special) officer of Govt., of the offerings to, and the ceremony of the procession of, the Idol Padarier* at Madras.

"And then the Padarier (the Idol) was removed out of her room to the outer verandah, where flower garlands were presented to each of the three following persons :—

"Ist to the Governor, that is, to any person belonging to Government (and other two officers).

"And after the necessary ceremonies were performed there, the procession moved and stood near the North Gate of Fort St. George, when the Collector of Madras (the European officer of Govt.) sent a gold Botto called 'Talee' (a necklace), and a piece of red silk cloth

11. For this and the following items under this head see Appendix B to the Memorandum.

* Parvati ?

called 'Cooray,' with Doop Deepam (incense) which were given to the goddess; and at the same time the Collector presented a red scarlet cloth to the Oocher (priest) and Rs. 17/- as 8/-, to the bearers of the conveyance and the Bauri etc. (the running to and from, with the offering of the Idol was conducted.) (Government order authorising the expenditure from Govt. Treasury annexed). The memorial added the following note to the above :—

"offerings are also annually made, in the name, and on behalf of the Government, to the Idols at Conjeveram in the vicinity of Madras, a celebrated place of Hindu worship. These offerings are usually presented by the Christian European officers in person."

The following from the statement of "a Native officer" on the above throws further light on the subject :—

"In the course of the Brahma-utsavam annually celebrated in Chittra (Chaitra ?), the Garuda-utsavam is performed at six in the morning of the third day (formerly the festival was under the charge of the Brahmins who were under no outside control)..... From the time of Mr. Place (Collector), the pagoda is assumed by the British Govt. and the festival is performed by the Hon. Company."

"When Mr. Place was Collector of the Jaghire, he, with a view to increase the prosperity of the Hon. Company and with their consent, continued to perform the feast* alluded to; in like manner, Govt. very liberally still performs it on the 3rd day of the festival incurring an expense of 300 pagodas from their public treasury, consequently they continue to conquer the country day by day."

(In 1824, the Raja of Mysore performed the feast by permission of the Govt. But next year, Govt. unwilling to let the offerings be made by the Raja, took it back from him; and Mr. Place (Collector) presented to the God jewels and a head ornament worth 1000 pagodas).

"Lord Clive on the occasion of his personal visit to the Garuda-utsavam presented a breast ornament (called Makaracuntty) worth pagodas 1050; and Mr. Collector Garrow presented a Chandraharam or golden necklace worth pagodas 500 when he attended the said feast. Moreover on the day of the aforesaid feast, the Collectors continue to present every year one lace garment worth about rupees 100 to the God."

OFFERINGS FOR RAIN

"Offerings to Idols for the purpose of procuring rain are also made under the express orders of the public officer, and provided for, at the expense of the Govt. in all seasons of drought (Varuna Japam or prayer to Hindu deity of water)." (This ceremony was performed by a large number of Brahmins and a feast of Brahmins concluded it).

Translation of an order issued to the Tahsildurs by the Collector of Canara, 1833 :—

* Feeding Brahmins, very likely.

"Communications have been received from Tahsildars of some taluqs stating that from deficiency of Rain the cultivation is hindered and requesting permission to perform Purjunium (ceremonies in the pagodas for rain). Upon looking at the rain reports, it appears that it is so. It is, therefore, ordered for the protection of the ryots that they must go to the pagodas of their villages with cocoanuts, cocoanut water etc. and with Pooja (worship of the Idol) offer up their prayers. In the pagodas, for the maintenance of which there is an allowance from Govt., you must order the officiating priest to perform Pooja properly with prayers, etc."

OFFERINGS TO THE GOD OF WISDOM

"In like manner offerings are made by public authority at her annual Feast to the Hindu Goddess Saraswati The carpenter places his plane, saw and chisel before him and offers divine honours to them; the tailor, in like manner, worships his needle; the soldier his sword and belt; the school master his books, etc. etc., and the Honourable Company's Account Books, stationery, Records, and Furniture, are worshipped in like manner year by year. At the court of the Judge and the *cutchery* (office) of the Collector, this is regularly done; and following is the programme of the ceremony "All the Dufters (bundles) containing Accounts etc. to be placed in the *cutchery* in a row; and in the evening, at about 4 o'clock, the religious Brahmin of the town together with the *cutchery* servants will assemble to worship them in honour of the goddess Minerva; in the interim music will be sounded, and the dance of the church will then be commenced; after this is done, cocoanuts, plantains and betel etc. will be distributed among religious Brahmins and the *cutchery* servants and a few gifts in specie will also be given to the former people."

"It is proper to observe that these gifts in specie together with the music and requisite quantity of fruit were provided at the expense of the Govt."

"In several districts, similar worship is paid to another Hindoo deity, Ganesa or Ganapati, the God of wisdom, both in the Courts of Justice and at the office of the Collector of Revenue." (The statement contains details of Ganesa worship in the office of the Collector of Canara. Dufter Pooja, it is said, was also performed on the Dasera day in the said office when "records are deified and Pooja made to them." Details given in the appendix).

The Dusserah festival was duly solemnized by distribution of gifts:—

"In order that due honour may be paid to the Dasra festival, Enams (presents) are given not only to the Hindus but also to the Mussalman and Christian peons.

The above excerpts fully establish the fact that the E.I.C's Govt. in India, in some cases at least, placed themselves entirely in the position of the Hindus in

the matter of Hindu religious ceremonies.

With regard to the general management of temples, the following from the description given by a European officer who did not publish his name for obvious reasons, but who signed himself as "an officer personally concerned," will prove how minute and thorough it was :—

RENTING OF TEMPLE OFFERINGS, ETC.

"The offerings made at several Idol temples are now rented out annually on behalf of Govt. In these cases, all the influence of the Collector's public servants is employed in favour of the renter. A cowle or Deed of Rent is executed which prescribes minute rules for the ceremonial of approaching the temple, making offerings and contains strong injunctions tending to honour the Idol and increase the value of the offerings. The produce of those rents becomes part of the Revenue of Govt. and the Collectors and their subordinates are entitled to commission on it"...

"The identification of the Govt. with the Idolatry of the country is so complete that not only are the endowments taken under the fiscal management of the Collector of Revenue in each district but public officers are retained in several provinces whose sole and special duty it is to see that all the services to the Idols in the district are duly performed, the different attendants at their posts, the vessels, temples, etc. etc., in repair, and to report to the European officer (Collector) at the head of the province. They take no step without reference to that officer, and in all cases resort to him for orders It is notorious that at this hour the pagodas and their idolatrous rites are under British rule, officially superintended with an efficiency and care descending to minute particulars, which they never received even under the Hindoo Government."¹²

The following extract from a letter of "a former Secretary to the Board of Revenue" confirms the above in words that are not only bitter but objectionable in places :—

"A countenance and support most unhallowed are given to the abominations of Hindu worship by our own actual management, direction, and control of their fraudulent and impure system by donations from our treasuries, and by the countenance and official aid of our public officers, who frequently make offerings and donations in their own name and in that of the Company. This evil is particularly prominent now; and the Collector of Madras is at this moment a defendant in the Supreme Court in an action of trespass for forcibly taking possession of the jewels of the Idol of Triplicane pagoda, which he justifies as the proper and necessary act of the officer of Govt. to secure them from the depredations of the responsible Hindoo

manager. Surely such a case ought to come before the Court in no other shape than as a suit on the part of the Hindoo worshippers against their own officer for malversion."¹³

Incidentally, in connection with the Christian officers' patronage of Hinduism, it is stated that

"especial patronage of idolatry by Christian officers is often found to have been the result of native female influence."¹⁴

The above quotations from the Madras memorial (which was submitted to the Governor of Madras, who forwarded it to the Court of Directors) give a full picture of the situation, so far as the Madras Presidency was concerned. The case was the same in other Presidencies and details of the state of things obtaining there are to be found in the literature on the subject published by the Christian missionaries alluded to before, as well as in the Parliamentary papers of the time.

THE PILGRIM TAX

The reader perhaps need not be reminded of the fact that the pilgrim tax owes its origin to the Moslem rule in India. The two chief marks of humiliation that were put upon the Hindus by the Moslem conquerors were the Jijia and the Pilgrim tax. From the first day of Moslem rule till Akbar's time, these two imposts continued to be levied upon the Hindus, except in times when the Moslem rulers were too busy with fighting or too weak to exact them. Akbar abolished them and Aurangzeb revived them with full vigour. From the latter's time onwards, the taxes remained theoretically in force, strong rulers collecting them and the weak ones ignoring them. When the E.I. Company stepped into the shoes of the Mughals, the former automatically became the up-keepers of the entire administrative system of the latter, including the revenue arrangements. The Jijia which was more vigorously opposed by the Hindus had by this time fallen into complete disuse. But the Pilgrim tax was found to be in a tolerably noticeable form of existence. The Company's Govt. took it up as one of the sources of revenue. But they added efficiency (as they did in other spheres too) to the system of collection and made it a point to spend the income for the benefit of the Hindu holy places in particular, and generally, for the convenience of the public.

That this became the policy of the then Govt. with regard to the Pilgrim tax is evident from the following. Near about the year 1832 there was a proposal to the effect that "the surplus collections from the Pilgrim tax at Juggernath, Gaya, Allahabad, Sutta and Sooran, amounting, on an average of

13. Appendix C to the Memorandum.

14. Ibid (foot note).

the then preceding four years, to four lacs per annum, shall be systematically appropriated to the formation of the principal roads in Bengal." Both the then Governor-General (Lord Bentinck) and the Court of Directors were in full agreement on the point, viz., "that the Revenue should be first applied to the repairs of the temples connected with the comforts of the pilgrims and that the surplus may be properly expended in roads and Seraes, contributing no less to the convenience of the pilgrims than to that of the people."¹⁵

To increase the income from this source, "Gomosthas or Agents were employed in travelling throughout India for the purpose of enticing the pilgrims to the several shrines and temples of repute." These men usually received a fee from every pilgrim who was brought by them to visit the particular holy place to which they (the agents) belonged. The Court of Directors bestowed on these agents high encomium in the following terms:— "They seem to discharge their vocation with astonishing industry, dexterity and success."¹⁶

The Govt. of Bengal regulated the rates of fees to these Pilgrim Hunters (this expression is used in official papers) in some places (as at Juggernath) and at others paid them out of the Pilgrim tax collected (as at Allahabad).

As to the result of this close connection between the Company's Govt. and their protégés, the Pilgrim Hunters, the following opinion of the Court of Directors is worth noting:—

"There can be little doubt that the exertions of the Pilgrim Hunters and their employers are incited and quickened by the assurance which the known good faith and exactness of the British Govt. hold out to them that their fees will be levied and paid with scrupulous punctuality; thus the credit and authority of the Govt. are perverted to the support of a manifest revolting abuse."¹⁷

Speaking of the Government's prestige and influence thus "perverted," we may, by way of a pardonable digression, give an instance here. The most gorgeous and attractive part of the decorations of the car of Jagannath (during the annual Car festival) was the decorative cloth, of varied and striking colour. This cloth (several pieces) was supplied directly from the Company's factory at Cuttack. On the effect of this, the Court of Directors say:—"Being furnished at first hand by the Govt. and forming an important feature in the Idol ceremony and attracting all eyes by its gaudiness, this cloth is, we doubt not, considered by the great majority of the attending devotees, as a free will oblation made to the Idol."¹⁸

To revert to the question of the Pilgrim tax. In consequence of the agitation against it (conducted by non-Hindus), the desirability of its abolition

15. Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General dated 20th February, 1833, (Blue Book, House of Lords, 1839, Vol. 7. paper No. 261).

16. Ibid (para 32).

17. Ibid (para 38).

18. Ibid (paras 45 and 47).

came to be discussed. There were some who apprehended that "the abolition of the Pilgrim tax would be regarded by the Hindoo with dread and regret, as indicating the withdrawal of the protection hitherto afforded to the religion by this Govt."

But the Court of Directors held that "the Hindoo would view the abolition as a boon and as a new proof of special toleration."¹⁹

Ultimately, the Court of Directors passed orders not only abolishing the Pilgrim tax but also severing, in effect, the Company's protective connection with Hindu religion. Orders, the first instance, were passed in 1833, which were that :—

- (a) "The interference of British functionaries in the internal management of native temples" (i.e. worship, offerings, ceremonies, festivals, conduct of priests, etc.) should cease.
- (b) "The Pilgrim tax be abolished.
- (c) "Offerings etc. or fees from pilgrims shall not be regarded as part of Govt. revenue nor shall they be collected by Govt. officers.
- (d) "No servant of the E. I. C. will derive any emolument from any of the above sources.
- (e) "No servant of the East India Company shall hereafter be engaged in collection, management or custody of "fines or offerings," under whatever name they may be known or by whatever means obtained.
- (f) "All matters relating to temples, (the worship, festivals, ceremonies, practices, etc.) will be left to "our native subjects."
- (g) "Whenever a police force will be needed for the peace and security of the pilgrims or worshippers, such police force is to be maintained "out of the general revenues of the country."

It appears that the above orders, in their comprehensive sense, were not effectively enforced everywhere for a few years after their promulgation. The Madras memorial contains an allegation of the Govt.'s evasion of them. And, the Governor-General of India (Lord Auckland) in 1837 tried to justify the current Govt. policy in respect of military salutes, etc. There was, it seems, the custom of firing a salute from the fort of Surat on the day of a particular Hindu festival (the New year's Day or the first day of the Spring). On objection being raised to this, Auckland wrote to the Court of Directors (who also agreed with him) :—

"The Salutes at Surat are a compliment paid to the return of the season, when the coast, by the change of the monsoon, is again open to the merchant and industry and profits are diffused among the commercial seafaring classes. I would be extremely loath to discontinue any one demonstration. We must all, I feel assured, lament that occasions of the kind are so rare on which it can be shown that the sympathies and feelings of the Govt. are in unison with those of the people.".....

19. Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General dated 20th February, 1833 (Blue Book, House of Lords, 1839, Vol. 7, paper No. 261).

To rebutt the charge that such a practice encourages and savours of paganism, he continues :—

“Something of paganism may be traced in our English Feasts of May Day and Harvest Home ; something Druidical in the Rites of Halloween more that is Catholic in the village mummeries of Christmos.”

And then he conveys the advice that :—

“the present moment is not favourable to measures of abrupt and ostensible change.”²⁰

The Court of Directors, in full agreement with the above views, ordered as follows :—

“we now desire that no customary salutes or marks of respect at Native festivals be discontinued at any of the Presidencies ; that no protection hitherto given be withdrawn and that no change whatever be made in any matter relating to the Native religion, except under the authority of the Supreme Govt.”²¹

Evidently, then, the Court of Directors in this case, unlike their European officers in India, did not think that the orders of 1833 covered the firing of salutes and other Govt. demonstrations to show sympathy to Hindu and Moslem religions. In course of time, however, all these practices were stopped.

In regard to the Pilgrim tax, the orders of 1833 brought no finality in the matter. The Company's Govt. had to pass a new Act (Act 10 of 1840) for its final and total abolition, thus obliterating the thousand-year old stigma of inferiority of the Hindu race and religion.

Before I conclude, I ought to point out that the abolition of the Pilgrim tax resulted in some loss to the Govt., in the sense that it had to continue making certain expenses which were before 1840 met from the collection of the Pilgrim tax, but which, after this date, had to be met from the general revenues. The then Governor-General, Lord Auckland, drew the court of Directors' attention to this fact. He wrote to them about the expected loss to Govt. on account of the proposed abolition of the Pilgrim tax at Gaya. The Govt. had been paying charitable allowance amounting to a total of Rs. 2,061, per year out of the tax ; and a yearly donation to the Calcutta native hospital of Rs. 12,000 ; Raja Mitrajit Singh of Gaya was paid Rs. 20,000 a year out of the same source. While the tax might be abolished, he warned these payments would have to be continued. With regard to the temple of Jagannath (which used to be administered by Govt. officers) Auckland suggested that on withdrawal of Govt. control the Raja of Khoordah may be entrusted with the superintendence of it, on condition that there should be free access to Hindus, that only voluntary presents may be taken from the pilgrims (who ere this were admitted only on payment of an admission fee and getting admission “tickets.”), and that

20. Despatch to the Governor-General in Council (Revenue Department) dated 18th October, 1837 (para 6).

21. Ibid (para 8).

he should "conduct the affairs of the temple with fidelity or regularity according to Hindu usages."²² The Pilgrim tax was thus utilized in many ways for the good of the Hindoos as well as of the public in general, instead of being lumped together with the common revenues mostly for the benefit of the rulers, as was used to be done in the days of the Moslem rule. By the by, it may be mentioned in this connection that the amount of tax collected at Gaya usually was about Rs. one lac and a half²³ and that at Puri, nearly two lacs of rupees per year.²⁴

Act 10 of 1840, passed on 20th, April, 1840, abolished the Pilgrim tax and placed the superintendence of the Jagannath temple in the hands of the Rajah of Khurdah.²⁵

Thus ended the career of the East India Company as the protector of the religions of India. Many people in those old days perhaps regretted the abolition of the period of protege-ship of Hindu religion, when the "good, old Company" was their *ma-bap* as much in religions as in political matters.

ROMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE

22. Auckland's Minute dated 17th Nov. 1838 (Blue Book, 1840, Vol. 47, paper No. 628.) For rates of fees of pilgrims etc.—see Regulations IV and V of 1806, IV of 1809, XI of 1810 etc.

23. Bengal Revenue Consultation, dated 9th October, 1806 (Blue Book 1812-1818, Vol. 8, paper No. 194).

24. Collector of Cuttock's letter to Board of Revenue, dated 7. 3. 1808 (Blue Book—Do)

25. Blue Book, 1840, Vol. 37, paper No. 628.

The adventurous life of Dom Antonio Jose De Noronha, Bishop of Halicarnassus and Pseudo Nephew of Madam Dupleix

1720—1776

DOM Antonio Jose de Noronha was a strange and notable personality. M. Ismael Gracias, a Portuguese writer has very rightly described his life in a volume of 95 pages under the title of : *O Bispo de Halicarnasso, Dom Antonio Jose de Noronha-memoria historica-Nova* Goa-Imprensa Nacional, 1903.¹

His spirit of enterprise is dwelt upon at length by the Portuguese writer on the authority of unpublished documents from the archives of Goa. He is not a stranger to us. His place lies in the marge of the history of French India, Pondicherry was the theatre of his exploits. It is from that town and by a very audacious imposture that he took his flight towards the most extraordinary destiny. Endowed with a marvellous intelligence and will, this Franciscan monk was by turns, Political Agent of Dupleix, Administrative Agent of Chanda Sahib, Diplomatic Agent of Lally Tolland, staunch friend and adviser of Hyder Ali and of the Mahrattas, Military Commander and Administrator of the Provinces and also in a way, a Bishop.

Born in July 1720 in Old Goa Antonio de Noronha reckoned among his ancestors a lineage of noble and illustrious gentlemen : The Acros, the Castanhede and the Prado. When he was yet in his teens, he had the misfortune to lose his father and mother. They left him without means to the care of a necessitous aunt who put him in the monastery of St. Francis in Goa.

At a time when nobility was the condition of success, his position as a clerical could have afforded Antonio de Noronha an honourable and brilliant career. But without religious zeal and piety, he was an undisciplined scholar and unedifying seminarist. He was however ordained priest at the age of twenty under the name of Father Antony of Purification and sent to the mission of congregation on the Coromandel Coast.

His life as a Missionary was not more edifying than his life as a Seminarist. His biographer relates discreetly that he dilapidated the wealth of the Churches and sold the sacred vases to satisfy the wants of a life of debauchery and pleasure. He lived more frequently at San Thome than in his parish.

1. It has been translated from Portuguese into French by M. H. de Closets D'Errey, Head of the Public Library and Curator of the Old Records.

At that time the friendly intercourse between San Thome and Pondicherry was very frequent and strengthened not only by a natural sympathy between the two peoples of Latin origin but also by alliances which, at the foundation of Pondicherry, had existed between the Portuguese and French families.

By his policy of good harmony with the Portuguese of India, Dupleix endeavoured to maintain and to tighten that friendly intercourse. To that effect as in many instances, he had been greatly helped by his wife. Madam Dupleix was of Portuguese origin on her mother's side and consequently very popular at San Thome. The Portuguese claimed her as one of their own and, later, historian of Goa represented her as a Franco-Portuguese heroine "*Uma heroína Franco-Portuguesa no Occidente.*"

But in Madam Dupleix the Portuguese blood was a little mixed. It is not a fact that her grandfather Thome Castro came directly from Portugal as is asserted by M. Ismael Gracias? This is a doubtful inference. At San Thome and at Madras several families by the name of Castro as well as those who remained at San Thome after the desertion of that town by the Portuguese derived themselves from the pure Portuguese immigrants.

At all events, the grandmother of Madam Dupleix who was her god-mother and gave her the name of Jeanne, was an Indo-Portuguese lady. Her mother Elizabeth Rosa of Castro, the widow of Jacques Albert, was, besides an unquestionable evidence, of the origin of her family. She spoke only Portuguese and could not read or write.

Dupleix was undoubtedly aware of these facts when he married the widow of M. Vincens, but it may be admitted that he who used to give black marks to those of his assistants who contracted Indian marriages was greatly vexed at his wife's origin.

Father Antony of Purification aware of this state of things realized that if he could flatter the vanity of Dupleix by giving a noble ancestry to his wife, he could lay claim to any favour and gain all his ambitions. By a clever device he grafted on the old parental stock of the Arcos, Castanhede and Prado, the plebian issue of Thome Castro and presented himself to Madam Dupleix as her nephew. The cheat was evident, but as it flattered to the utmost Madam Dupleix and especially her husband, they admitted the fact with eagerness.

From that day began for Father Antony a new era which he masterfully exploited to his own advantage. Unbounded was his ambition. To begin with he aimed at the office of Vicar-General of the Archbishopric of Mylapore. He was helped by his "uncle." Dupleix claimed the intervention of the Viceroy of Goa with the Primate of India in favour of his wife's nephew. But Father Antony was leading such a scandalous life that the ecclesiastical authorities could not decently appoint him Vicar-General. However he managed to secure the Vicarship of one of the parishes of San Thome or Mylapore, viz., Luz and the post of Visitor of the Missions of his order on the Coromandel Coast.

Over and over again, Father Lucas de Costa Cravo, Vicar-General of the

Bishopric of Mylapore was compelled to make remonstrances to him about his behaviour and to force him to a greater humbleness and restraint. But such remonstrances were of no avail. Father Antony continued to lead a dissolute life and scandalized all his parishioners. By so doing he incurred the strong animosity of Father Carvo who, seeing no other way to amend him, prosecuted Father Antony before the Junta of the Missions (Ecclesiastical Court), thus depriving him of his office of Visitor Commissioner.

Shortly afterwards in 1749, Dupleix restored to the British Company the town of Madras according to the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. In order to lessen as much as possible the prejudices of that restoration, Dupleix conceived the plan of reinstalling the Portuguese at San Thome. Meanwhile he obtained from his protegee Chanda Sahib a firman appointing Father Antony of Purification as Founder or Governor of San Thome. This appointment was not secured without difficulty. The Indian Chronicler, Ananda Ranga Pillay, noted down in his diary (volume VI, page 178), the negotiations that Madam Dupleix had with Raja Sahib and the difficulties met with by her in obtaining the Governorship of Mylapore for her pseudo nephew.

No sooner had he been invested with the office of foudjar of San Thome than Father Antony ordered the arrest of his predecessor and sent him to Pondicherry duly escorted. He recruited a few soldiers and provided the old citadel of San Thome with some guns. He restrained the merchants of Mylapore under penalty of whipping, from trading with Madras. Thus he rashly drew the attention of the British authorities to the new state of things at San Thome.

The Council of Fort St. David (the Council of Fort St. George was not yet re-established) resented the situation and obtained from Mohamed Ali, the competitor of Chanda Saheb to the Noboby of Arcot the grant of Mylapore and of San Thome. The consequence was the arrest of Father Antony of Purification and the hoisting of the British flag on the citadel of San Thome, by Admiral Boscaven.

At the instigation of Dupleix, the Viceroy of Goa protested against the act of violence of Admiral Boscaven. To avoid a conflict with Portugal the authorities in London hastened to release Father Antony.

From London Father Antony de Naronha went to Paris where, by the favour of Dupleix's friends, he obtained from Louis XV the Knighthood of the Order of St. Lazarus and of the Mount Carmel and a proposal to Rome for a Bishopric. He intrigued so well that in spite of all the scandals of his sacerdotal life he was allowed by the Roman Curia the Bishopric of Halicarnassus in Partibus infidelium. This designation gave rise to the strongest protest from the Court of Portugal so jealous of its ecclesiastic privileges in India. Consequently the Roman Curia refused to sanction by Papal letters patent the choice of Louis XV.

This could not embarrass Father Antony. In spite of their sternness the prescriptions of the Canonical laws were unheeded by him. He had but the Cassock of a Catholic priest which he was occasionally ready to exchange for the puffed robe and the jerkin of the dignitaries of the Mogal Court (He was entitled Nabob Dilvarjanga Xamadar Bahadur).

Invited by the Court of Portugal to come to Lisbon, the new Bishop hastened to leave France for Pondicherry (1752) rightly conjecturing that his trip to Portugal would have serious consequences for him under the existing circumstances.

Mentioning a conversation which he had on the 24th August 1752 with Antonio de Noronha, Ananda Ranga Pillay writes :—

“This evening Father Antony who, though nominated as a Bishop, has not yet been consecrated, met me on his way home when I was sitting by the lane near the Manakkulam (presumably the tank attached to the Manakkulam Pilliyar temple).....”

Was he consecrated later on? No proof has been adduced to that effect; he had very probably only the title of Bishop without having been authorised to perform the duties of his office.

Dupleix was still at Pondicherry on the return of Antonio de Noronha. It was out of the question to reinstate him as Governor of San Thome. But shortly afterwards on the death of the Bishop of Mylapore, Dupleix wrote to the Viceroy that his protegee might be authorized to act in that capacity until his investiture took place. The antecedents of Noronha stood against him and the step taken by Dupleix proved unsuccessful.

His services were availed of by Dupleix in course of several negotiations with the Mahrattas and particularly with Morari Rao, also by Lally Tolandal when the latter on being besieged in Pondicherry had to appeal to the Mysorians and the Mahrattas. The Indian Chronicler dwells at length on the part the Bishop of Halicarnassus took on these negotiations. What cannot be denied to him is his faithfulness to France. He had settled down at Pondicherry and supplied to Lally Tolandal a body of Portuguese troops with their officers. One of the latter Louis Telles de Menzes Captain Major of San Thome married Noronha's sister.

After the fall of Pondicherry in 1761 the Bishop of Halicarnassus, absolutely destitute, returned to Goa. There he managed by his intrigues to win the sympathy of the Viceroy, the Count of Ega who was pleased to appoint him as Commander-in-Chief of a regiment of Sepoys. In that capacity he marched on Ponda in order to avenge the defeat of a first expedition. He was successful and completely routed the enemy who fled in disorder.

In recognition of his services the Count da Ega appointed him in August 1760, as General of the Provinces of Ponda and Zambaulin. The inhabitants of these Provinces were at first very sympathetic to him. But as he was unable to conciliate them by a moderate policy, they stood against him and complained to the Viceroy of his vexatious methods and requested his immediate transfer. The Viceroy granted their request. But Noronha obtained as compensation the grant of two plots of land in Gundain and a pension of 100 Xerafins per mensem.

The triumvirate who succeeded Count da Ega, not satisfied with cutting of Noronha's pension, confiscated also his properties and ordered that an inquiry should be made into his behaviour at Ponda and in March 1768 he was arrested pending his transfer to Lisbon.

There, as always, fortune smiled on him. He cleared himself before the Royal Court from the imputation of any fault and he won the goodwill of the Secretary of State, the Marquis of Pombal. The latter, in order to improve the splendid dominions which the Portuguese had in India, found that none else than Noronha could bring the task to a successful end. Before proceeding to India, Noronha requested the Marquis of Pombal to obtain from the king that all his properties which had been confiscated should be restored to him. He got satisfaction in that respect.

In January 1775, he was appointed as Commander of the legion of the Royal Voluntaries (a corps newly created) and as Lieutenant of the Province of Ponda.

Antonio de Noronha did not long enjoy these lucrative as well as honourable offices. On the 7th February 1776 he arrived at Panjim and dined there at the palace of the Governor Jose Pedro de Camera. On his return to his country house "Bellevue" at Panjim he was found dead in his carriage. Thus came abruptly to an end, amidst widespread surprise, his earthly career of 56 years.

M. A. BALASUBRAMANIAM PILLAI.

A Curious Phase of Lord Pigot's Proceedings against Tanjore

(1775—76)

I.

THE main object of Lord Pigot's reappointment to the Governorship of Madras in 1775, was the restoration of the kingdom of Tanjore to its dispossessed Raja. It was in 1773 that Tanjore was taken by force of arms for the Nawab of the Carnatic, while the Raja and his family were kept in prison in the fort. The Governor of the Presidency declared that the Raja of Tanjore "held his lands of the Nabob in fee," which had been all along the claim on that kingdom put forward by the Nawab Muhammad Ali. The reason of the Madras Government's action is clearly seen from its resolution, dated 22nd June, 1773, that "it was dangerous, in the present system, to have such a power as the Raja of Tanjore in the heart of the Carnatic;" and that it was "expedient, for the safety of the Carnatic and the Company's possessions, that the Raja of Tanjore should be reduced." The Select Committee at the Presidency held that the measure was, in fact, founded on the law and principle of self-defence. They upheld the claim of Nawab Muhammad Ali that the 'Zemindar of Tanjore,' as he was called, was a mere vassa of the Carnatic and held his country by certain tenures which he had avowedly and repeatedly broken and violated and that in consequence of such breaches and violations, his feudal lord was authorised by the law of nations and every principle of justice to dispossess him. But then the question would naturally follow if the Nabob was authorised to dispossess him, "by what law or what justice did the Court of Directors take upon them to send orders to restore him, in breach of a solemn treaty made by the king (George III) and approved of by the Parliament of Great Britain?" and whether it was prudent for a few Directors in Leadenhall Street to violate, by means of their orders, the "engagement of the Nation."

The Madras Council informed the Court of Directors of their seizure of Tanjore (in 1773) and of their being assured by letters from the Raja and his mother to the Nawab that they were treated "with much attention and humanity in their confinement." No observations on this subject proceeded from the Court of Directors for some months after the news had reached them.

II.

Early in 1775, the Court of Directors appointed Mr. Rumbold, by a small majority, to the Governorship of Madras, which was to fall vacant shortly. But a Court of Proprietors which was summoned to review the appointment, reversed the previous decision by another equally small majority and appointed Lord Pigot who, since he retired from the Madras Governorship in 1763, had contrived to become a Baronet and an Irish Peer. He enjoyed great influence with the Directors; and we learn from James Mill that he desired "to rival the glory of Clive by introducing the same reforms under the Presidency of Madras, as that illustrious Governor had introduced in Bengal."¹ Pigot decided that he should effect the restoration of the Raja of Tanjore as he had, during his former Governorship, assured him of his possession of the throne. Mill would not exonerate him completely from animation by unworthy motives in such a desire. Pigot's favourite Dubash, Manali Muthukrishna Mudali, who had rebuilt the Madras Town Temple and became its warden, and for whom he continued to experience a partiality, had rented a considerable area of lands from the Tanjore Raj; moreover, Pigot had been offended with Nawab Muhammad Ali who first appointed him his agent in England, but "failed in those remittances which made the place of agent desirable." Again there existed at the time an active bid between the Nawab and the Raja for securing the favour of the most influential servants of the Company. No wonder, therefore, that Pigot had persuaded the Directors to declare their decision on the business of Tanjore shortly before the Proprietors met to choose the new Directors.²

Curiously enough, the retiring Directors, in the preamble to their resolution, used much ambiguous language and decided, at the end of it, that the expedition of 1773 was founded upon pretences which were totally false, that the Raja was not proved to have committed any offence and that the destruction of his power had only increased the dangers to the Company; and at the end of their despatch, they declared their order to be as follows:— "The Presidency were first to provide security, by a proper guard, for the persons of him and his family; and next, but under certain conditions, to restore him to his dominions, as they existed in 1762. The conditions were, that he should receive a garrison of the Company's troops into the Fort of Tanjore; assign lands for their maintenance; pay to the Nabob the *peshcush* of 1762; assist him with such troops alone as the Presidency shall join in requiring; form no treaty with foreign powers, except in concurrence with the English rulers; and neither directly nor indirectly furnish any assistance to their enemies."

III.

Pigot, after he had assumed charge of the Governorship in December, 1775, declared that the injunctions of the Directors were to proceed immediately to

1. History of British India (1848), Vol. IV (Book V, Chap. 4) p. 119.

2. Vide below, pp. 44 & 47.

the restoration of the Raja of Tanjore, but that this order should be communicated to the Nawab with all possible delicacy. The Council first made use of the offer made by the Nawab that he would consent to admit an English garrison into the Tanjore Fort, as it would enable the Presidency at once to get the Raja at liberty and to guard his person.

In a conference that the Nawab had with Pigot on the 12th January, 1776, the former received such treatment from the latter as brought upon him a severe indisposition. The next conference which took place four days later, had, therefore, to be negotiated only with his sons, Omdat-ul-Omrah and Amir-ul-Omrah; and the result was that the Nawab wrote a letter to the Governor "hoping, perhaps, from the profusion of his Lordship's tears, at the conference of the 16th, that he would relent, and listen to his proposals, as well as have some regard to his rights." The letter was an answer to that of his Lordship, dated December 30, 1775."³

It was even contended on behalf of the Nawab that the Court of Directors, at the date of the final signing of their despatch, were not a regular Court as that day happened to be the day of the election of a new Court by the Proprietors; and this was a matter which the Court of Law could decide. Of course, this contention was not then communicated either to Pigot or to the Court.

On the 25th of January, the Nawab was forced to send the following note to Lord Pigot:— "I have perused the strict order of the Company given to my Friend, and have written a reply thereto in mine of the 22nd instant, THAT AGREEABLE TO THAT I HAVE CONSENTED, and that I have given permission for their garrison to be put in Tanjore. Fifteen days hence you may send your people, and I shall withdraw my own supernumerary people."⁴ This is the contention made on behalf of the Nawab later in the course of the controversy.

Pigot wrote very stiffly to the Nawab on the 23rd of February, asking for definite information as to what and how many orders had been given by the Nawab for the payment of money on the Tanjore country. He fixed that the 9th of February should be the date for commencing his receipt of the revenues of Tanjore when the officers of the Nawab should relinquish all manner of authority. January-February is the general season in South India for the harvesting of the rice crop; and by the middle of February practically the entire harvest will be completed. Naturally the question could be asked why the Governor who had positive orders for giving back Tanjore to the Raja should have delayed for over two months from his arrival in the first

3. Page 14; "Original papers relative to Tanjore; containing all the letters which passed, and the Conferences which were held, between His Highness the Nabob of Arcot and Lord Pigot on the subject of the restoration of Tanjore together with the material part of Lord Pigot's last dispatch to the East India Company. The whole is connected by a narrative, and illustrated with notes and observations." These letters of the Nawab were transmitted by a special messenger in a French ship that left Pondicherry in July, 1776, shortly after the events described in them took place.

4. To the words in capitals the Nabob did not consent according to his advocate.

week of December; and whether his negotiations at Madras took up all his time, as was commonly believed. It was suggested by the Nawab's people, in scarcely subdued tones, that the Governor's Dubash who had claims on the Tanjore revenues could, if he pleased, answer this question. It was also pleaded that a remarkable fact was for Pigot to have sanctioned that the Company's Commanding Officer at Tanjore considered the Raja to be a prisoner even after the Nawab had delivered up the Fort to the English garrison; and it was suggested pointedly that Raja Tulajaji would not remember the favour of his release by Pigot's efforts, if he had been set up at liberty before the arrival of Lord Pigot himself at Tanjore. Pigot desired the Nawab to write a letter to him that *the Raja would always be disobedient and that his nature leads him to this.*⁵

As the Nawab strenuously adhered to his rights, Pigot came to confer with him on the day after the receipt of his pleading and in the reported conference between His Highness and His Lordship, dated the 20th March, 1776, is revealed what is alleged to be the true motives for his return to India. "His Lordship said, it was his opinion that His Highness had desired it, and that the Company had done it. He further said, that he had, in England, begun the business of restoring to the Raja his country, as his was concerned therein; that he was the beginner of this business, and would go to England after he had finished it. That the business of this place was so far confused, that it could not be settled by his hands; and that, no doubt, it was of great prejudice to him. That the King and Parliament would do him great injury on account of this business, and would take his estate from him. His Lordship said, that if any delay happened in this business, the people of England would think that he could not do it, and would send Mr. Rumbold here." In another letter, dated 26th March, 1776, from Lord Pigot to the Nawab, we read that he found himself obliged to observe, "that the business of Tanjore has been well deliberated by my Masters, has been by them condemned, and their orders in consequence were not delivered to me, till after they had been laid before His Majesty's Ministers for their approval. My Masters gave you their support, when you were alike destitute of money and of power; they will continue their support to you, but the public faith is pledged to the Raja of Tanjore, as well as to your Highness; and the orders to me are, "That the country of Tanjore shall be again put into the possession of the Raja." Pigot then claimed that "the world will justify me in the obedience I shew to the orders of my Masters; and having never failed in the part of friendship, in respect and in propriety of behaviour towards you, I trust I shall now stand excused, after the pressing manner I have so often urged your Highness to do that which is right and proper, as well respecting your interest as your dignity." The Governor once more visited the Nawab on the 26th of March and wrote the

5. Extract from the translation of paper which Lord Pigot desires that His Highness the Nabob should write to him, received on the 28th Mohurrum, 1190 Hegira, or 19th March, 1776. This is a strange character of the Raja, by the very man who restores him! If he is a dangerous and profligate man, how can Lord Pigot, how can those who gave the orders, answer for having placed the power of doing harm in his hands?

following paper with his own hand and delivered it to His Highness in the presence of his five sons :— “As I am now going to Tanjore, I hope the Nabob will let the little time there is, be employed, in considering which way I can execute the Company's orders, the most to his satisfaction ; and that when I come away from Tanjore, he will be so good as to let Nagis Cawn accompany me, as a guard ; it will have a good appearance in the eyes of the world, and shew the faith and confidence Lord Pigot has in the Nabob's officers and troops.”

IV.

The Nawab, finally perceiving that Lord Pigot was adamant in his resolution about the restoration of Tanjore to the Raja, made him a last alternative proposal, namely, that after discharging the debt which he had contracted on account of the Tanjore country and deducting the expenses that he had been at on account of that country and on account of the English garrison which he received into the fort, he would “keep the revenues in his own possession without expending one shilling of them till the further order of the Company arrives.” He further added these significant and appealing words :— “The difference between your Lordship's intention and mine is this, your Lordship wishes to do this business by force, and without my consent, and I want to delay it, till the Company's letter arrives from England. Do me the favour to attend to this representation of your old friend.”

Pigot now despaired of the possibility of ever inducing the Nawab to relinquish his rights and finally left Madras on the 29th of March—30th is the date mentioned by Mill—Even after Pigot had marched beyond Cuddalore, the Nawab wrote to him thus : “I should have been glad if your Lordship had returned to me from Cuddalore instead of proceeding from thence.”

Pigot based his restoration of the Raja on a treaty that he himself forced on the Raja in 1762, to which the English became guarantee and proclaimed that “in direct violation of the above treaty which, according to the Nawab's letter of the 17th of July, 1762, was to continue in force only during the reign of Pratap Singh and which had been superseded by the posterior orders of the Company, the troops of the Company at the instigation of the Nawab removed the Raja from his Government.

V.

The Madras Council, during these negotiations, was divided into two sections and violently agitated by both internal and external influences. In January, 1776, it became possessed of a document headed “A Short Memorial of Services to His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, Walaujau & Co., by whom he sent upon secret Commission to His Majesty's first Minister of State, 1767.” It set forth the proceedings of Mr. John Macpherson in England and his negotiations on behalf of the Nawab and it alleged that the anonymous author had published pamphlets extolling the virtues of the Nawab and really had the

notice and portrait of Wallajah published in Major Alexander Dow's *History of Hindostan*, 2nd edition, 1770. Macpherson was summoned before the Council and declining to give a definite answer whether he was the author of the paper, but representing that the transactions mentioned therein related to a time anterior to the date when he became a servant of the Company. Macpherson was dismissed from the Company's service by a Consultation of 23rd January, 1776. Of the two members of the Council who dissented, one was Sir Robert Fletcher who claimed that, as the principal military officer of the Presidency, he should be the person by whom the act of the restoration of the Raja should be done. Even then the Council resolved by a unanimous vote that the President should proceed on the business and that as the crops were ready for harvesting, no time should be lost in giving possession of the country to the Raja. Fletcher was, indeed, a party to the unanimous resolution; but he now proposed to send along with Pigot two other members under express and particular instructions of the Board, "declaring that without this condition he would not have assented to the vote in favour of the President; that the Board were not justified in the delegation of undefined and unlimited powers, except in a case of extreme necessity; and that, if this measure were drawn into a precedent, the effect would be, to serve the corrupt interests of individuals at the expense of the public."

The proposal was rejected by a majority of the Council; but Pigot took with him two members of his own choice, including the second person who had voted for the deputation. It is unnecessary to extend the narrative of this miserable transaction beyond this stage. The object is to show how there had been an amount of obvious disingenuousness on the part of Pigot that bade fair to rival that of the Nawab and how from a close study of the correspondence that passed between him and the Nawab his attitude does not come out unscathed. We even learn from this correspondence that Pigot made a motion in the Council that it should be recommended to the Nawab to remove to Arcot and only lost the proposal on a division of seven to four.

Pigot's avowed object in going back to India in 1775, was said to be the restoration of Tanjore to its Raja and the Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors was aware of his desire. He at first proposed that the Nawab should be persuaded to make an assignment of an allowance suitable to the Raja's dignity and a guard for the protection of his person. But by persuasion at the India House, Pigot obtained orders from the Chairman for the total restoration of the Raja. The orders lay for a fortnight in the India Office before the requisite number of signatures could be obtained from the Directors, and the document was completely authenticated only on the very day of the annual election of the Directorate, namely the 12th April, 1775, when the Court of Proprietors met to choose the new Director, and when it could be legally maintained, the authority of the old Directors became suspended.⁶

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⁶ For a vindication of the defence of the Tanjore Raja, see the almost partial pamphlet entitled "An Enquiry into the Policy of making Conquests for the Mohomedans in India by the British Arms, in answer to a pamphlet entitled "Considerations on the Conquest of Tanjore," London (1773).

Some Documents on the History of Cochin

THE Cochin State Manual¹ contains the statement : 'The first mention of Cochin, so far as known at present, is made. Sixty years after the formation of the harbour by Ma Huan, a Chinese Mahomedan attached to the suite of Cheng Ho,'² and cites the summary of Ma Huan's account given by Geo. Phillips in the JRAS, 1896, pp. 341-4. Ma Huan's work was first published in 1451 though his visits to Cochin took place earlier.³ And there was another writer in the suite of Cheng Ho, though we do not know in what capacity he accompanied the mission. His name was Fei Sin. His notice of Cochin was published earlier than that of Ma Huan.

Cochin is usually taken to have come into existence in 1341 A.D., the era of Pudu Vaippu (new deposit). And the city is referred to by its name first in relation to Cheng Ho's celebrated voyages. This famous eunuch commander of the Chinese armadas visited Cochin and its neighbourhood more than once, and the occasions of his visit as determined by the most recent researches of Duyvendak and Pelliot may be noted here :—

1407 — Cheng Ho left Calicut for China some time after 8th February, 1407, after his visit to that place³ in the course of his first voyage in the Southern and Western Seas. (?) 1410 — Second visit to the Malabar Coast in the course of the second mission (1409-11). Cochin is specially mentioned as one of the places visited. Fei Sin was in this mission. (?) 1413—Third visit to Malabar Coast in the third mission (1412-15). Cochin, Calicut and Maldives are named among the countries visited. Cheng Ho went past India for the first time in this voyage and visited Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. Ma Huan took part in this voyage, but not Fei Sin. This was the first visit of Ma Huan to Cochin.⁴ (?) 1417 — Fourth voyage of Cheng Ho (1416-19) reaching up to Africa. Neither Ma Huan nor Fei Sin formed part of this mission. And we can infer the States visited by Cheng Ho in this voyage only from the general statement in the Ming Annals that on this occasion Cheng Ho was asked by the Emperor to accompany the envoys of different countries that had sent embassies to China in their homes, and among the countries that had sent embassies to China in 1416 were Aden, Ormuz, Calicut and Cochin.⁵

1. P. 2

2. Duyvendak—*Ma Huan Re-examined* (Amsterdam, 1933)

3. T'oung Pao 1938, p 276, n. 1

4. This statement in the Cochin State Manual (p. 44) that Ma Huan's first Visit was in 1408 is now obsolete.

5. TP. 1933, p. 295

1421-2 — The fifth voyage of Cheng Ho in which Ma Huan seems to have participated. This must have been a very rapid voyage, for though its duration is little more than a year and a half, it touched Djofar in Arabia and Mogodishu in E. Africa and as a result of it fifteen States including Calicut, and possibly Cochin, sent embassies to China.

The sixth voyage was a short one (1424-5) and of no interest to us as it did not come to India. The seventh and last voyage of Cheng Ho is important. Both Fei Sin and Ma Huan were in it.

(?) 1432—Last visit of Cheng Ho, Fei Sin and Ma Huan in the course of the seventh voyage (1431-33). No fewer than twenty countries were visited on this occasion including Maldives, Quilon, Cochin, Calicut, Djofar, Ormuz and Aden. And Ma Huan used the occasion for a voyage to Mecca in the company of other pilgrims from Calicut.

We thus see that Cochin was visited by Cheng Ho surely thrice, possibly five times; Fei Sin visited it twice and Ma Huan twice or possibly three times. It may be noted that the accounts of these voyages leave little room for doubt that in that period, though Calicut was much better known and enjoyed the prestige of a long established port, Cochin was fast coming up as an important emporium. A casual statement of Gaspar Correa lays stress on the antiquity of Calicut as a port and the trade connections of the Chinese with the Malabar Coast. He says: "By the time the Portuguese ships arrived (at Calicut in 1498), four centuries had elapsed since the year when there came more than eight hundred sailing ships from Malacca, China and the land of the Lequeos (Formosa),—ships, great and small, manned by people of various nationalities and charged with very rich merchandise which they brought for sale. They came to Calicut, navigated the entire coast up to Cambay, and they were so numerous that they spread themselves over the whole country."⁶ Fei Sin's work, *Hsing cha Sheng lan* or 'Description of the Star raft,' bears a preface dated 18th January, 1436,⁷ and must have been published soon after. Ma Huan's work, on the other hand, underwent many revisions at least from 1416 onwards and was not actually published before 1451.⁸ It is thus clear that Fei Sin's first visit to Cochin was some two or three years before Ma Huan's, and his brief account of the city is the earliest published account available from the Chinese sources relating to the period. In Rockhill's translation that account reads as follows: "This locality is on a headland facing Hsi-lan (Ceylon). To the interior it confines ou Ku-li (Calicut). The climate is constantly hot, the soil is poor, the crops sparse. The villages are on the sea-shore. The usages and customs are honest.

"Men and women do their hair in a know and wear a short shirt and a piece of cotton stuff wrapper around them.

"There is a caste of people called Mu-kua (Mukuva); they have no dwellings but live in caves or nests in the trees. They make their living by

6. Cited by Ferrand JA: 11-12 (1918), p 131

7. TP. Vol. 30 (1933) p. 267

8. Ibid, pp. 257-64

fishing in the sea. Both sexes go with the body naked and with a girdle of leaves or grass hanging before and behind. If one of them meets someone, he must crouch down and hide himself by the wayside. Where he must wait until he has passed by.

"The natural product is a great abundance of pepper, wealthy people put up broad godowns in which to store it. In their trading transactions they use a small gold coin called *panan* (*fanam*). The goods used in trading are coloured satins, white silk, blue and white porcelain-ware, and silver.

"Its ruler in grateful recognition of the Imperial bounty constantly sends presents to our Court."⁹ It will be sent that Fei Sin's geography is poor, and the information he gives rather meagre. Ma Huan's account which is fuller is much better known as it has been reproduced by Geo. Phillips in the JRAS. for 1896, and in the Cochin Manual. There is another version of the same account by Rockhill in T'oung Pao, XVI, pp. 449-52. His descriptions of the religion and dress of the king and the nobles, of houses, caste and of the climate, produce, trade organisation and currency system of the country are all shrewd and informing. We see that Cochin was already a considerable port half a century before the arrival of the Portuguese.

In the early years of the sixteenth century, the port of Cochin passed definitely into the hands of the European powers, the Portuguese holding it for about 160 years, the Dutch for about 130 years afterwards till it passed into the hands of the English in 1795. On both the occasions when it changed hands passing from the Portuguese to the Dutch, and from the Dutch to the English, the general appearance of the city underwent sweeping changes, many buildings being destroyed, fortifications altered and so on. All that was distinctive of the city and its historic associations disappeared in 1806 when in their eagerness to prevent the fine city from passing into the hands of the French, of which there was some danger at the time, the English East India Company carried out a thoroughgoing destruction by means of gunpowder of all the fortifications and public buildings of any importance.

Cochin must have been a very imposing city under the Portuguese. Baldaeus says that some years after the Portuguese occupation of it, 'this city began to increase so considerably, that it might compare with some of the best in Europe, its length being near two English miles.' Again, 'Cochin may for its bigness justly challenge the second place after Goa among the Indian cities formerly in the possession of the Portuguese, though at present (C. 1672) it is not near so big as the city of Batavia.' Lastly, "The river runs on the backside of the best houses of the city, where they catch fish with casting nets, at which the Chinese, inhabiting there, are very dexterous. Formerly this city could boast of divers, stately churches since demolished by the Dutch. The Jesuits' church and college facing the sea-shore, had a lofty steeple, and a most excellent set of bells; the college, which was three stories high, and contained about twenty or thirty apartments, being surrounded with a strong wall. The cathedral was also a noble piece of architecture, adorned with two rows of pillars, and a lofty steeple.

9. TP, XVI, p. 452

The church and convent of the Austin friars stood upon the bank of the river; and the church of the Dominicans, with their convents, were two rare pieces of workmanship beautified with a double row of pillars of most excellent stone. The church and monastery of the Franciscans is the only that remains standing as yet, but has no more than two brothers left, who are allowed the free exercise of their religion."¹⁰

The course of events leading to the capture of Cochin by the Dutch is well known in its outline, and may be read in several modern works.¹¹ I wish to draw attention to some documents bearing directly on this subject that have been published in recent years and go far to supplement our knowledge of these events. The capture of Cochin was preceded by that of Cranganur, and this place surrendered to the Dutch on Jan. 15, 1662, after a short siege of a fortnight's duration. The terms of the surrender may now be read at No. CCLI in Heeres' *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico Indicum*, Vol. II. (Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Landen Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie, Deel 87, 1931). It is a short document of seven clauses. First, the town of Cranganur with its jurisdictions to be surrendered to the Dutch Company and its representatives; second, all Portuguese officers and soldiers of the militia shall march out with flying colours, drums beating, bullets in their mouth and fuses alight, and having laid down their arms before the Dutch Commander, march within the city to await the earliest occasion for their transport at the Company's convenience; third, all topasses and natives of free birth shall remain within the town of Cranganur till forthcoming July; fourth, all the clergy to be sent to Goa on the first possible occasion; fifth no one to take out anything more than their bedding and such other articles as the General may permit; sixth, all other things to be surrendered to the General to the profit of the Dutch Company particularly artillery, rifles of all sorts, ammunition of war, slaves, etc., belonging to the king of Portugal; lastly all the married women and daughters of free birth shall be transported to Cochin or Goa. There is a note at the end that the document reached Batavia and was entered in the dag-register on the 15th June following.

Van Goens' attempt to take Cochin in February 1662 ended in failure, and he had to leave the Malabar Coast before the outbreak of the S. W. monsoon. But he had definite intention of returning to the charge when the ensuing monsoon was over, and accordingly he entered into a number of definite alliances with the Indian princes of Malabar before he returned to Batavia. These treaties may now be detailed with a brief abstract of their terms as they are found in the pages of Heeres' *Corpus*.

10. Churchill's *Voyages* (ed. 1782), Vol. III, pp. 567-8. I was enabled to consult this work in Madras by the kind courtesy of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

11. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, pp. 49-50; Galetti and others—*The Dutch in Malabar*, pp. 11 ff. *The Cochin State Manual* pp. 87 ff. Also K. P. Padmanabha Menon—*History of Kerala*, Vol. I, pp. 161-207 where he also cites almost all the known notices of Cochin at different times. The work is really an edition of Vissher's letters from Malabar with an elaborate & useful, if somewhat illarranged, commentary.

ccliii — 7th March, 1662. Treaty between the Zamorin and the Dutch East India Company represented by Ryklof van Goens, comprising fourteen clauses. Declaration of mutual friendship; Zamorin to supply 2000 Nair soldiers commanded by himself or by a prince of his blood to the fighting strength of the Dutch Company in his territory; also to supply 300 coolies for day labour; the Dutch to have monopoly of pepper trade in Zamorin's lands and to carry the pepper that he may like to send to Mekka (Mocha given by Valentiyn seems to be more correct); the Zamorin to supply timber and other materials needed for defensive purposes or let the Dutch gather them by means of their coolies; when the Dutch conquer Cochin, the Zamorin will demolish the fortifications of Cranganur and share with the Dutch the treasures taken from the Portuguese in accordance with terms already agreed on; that the Dutch will be responsible for the defence of Cranganur, Palliport, and Vaipéen till next November, the future being left for further negotiations later; that this contract be taken to include the kings of Cranganur, Paliat and all Malabar princes. The treaty also contains provisions for the regulation of the details of trade, extradition of offenders and like matters.

ccliv — 12th March, 1662—This is not a treaty in the usual sense. It is an instruction or request from the Paliat Achan, Komi Menon, to the Dutch Company to protect him from danger from the Portuguese and other enemies who have hostile designs against him and his possessions in Vaipéen and elsewhere. The Achan recognises the supremacy of the Zamorin and the protection afforded by his power, and seeks the Dutch protection in addition, the danger being so great. A shrewd stroke of business on the part of the 'Palietter' as the Dutch call him. The document was signed on board the *Muskatboom*.

The year is given as 1661 at the end of the copy of the contract book from which Heeres reproduces the document. Heeres thinks it a mistake; but 1661 occurs also in Padmanabha Menon's version of this treaty *op. cit.*, pp. 514-15 and the date is not historically impossible. The Dutch had not yet formed clear plans of action on the W. Coast; on the other hand, earlier treaties with Malabar powers are known.

cclv—31st March, 1662—Further articles supplementary to the treaty dated 7th Jan. 1659 between the Dutch Company on one side and king of Travancore and queen of 'Singnatie' (Jayatunganad) on the other, regulating their mutual rights and obligations regarding Quilon. Conquered by the Dutch for the first time in December, 1658, Quilon had to be taken a second time three years later in December, 1661, as the natives and the Portuguese had captured it in the interval. The second seizure was the occasion for the supplementary treaty concluded by Van Goens before his departure for Batavia. This is a document of 22 clauses of which nos. 3-13 reproduce the old treaty of 1659. The new treaty opens by stating that all the recent injuries the parties had inflicted on each other should be forgotten and forgiven. The old treaty should be renewed and reaffirmed in every respect. The terms of this old treaty transferred all the Portuguese properties in Quilon to Dutch and regulated among other things their trade privileges, including licensing fees and tolls to be levied by them, the annual presents they have to give to the princes of the land and so on. The new clauses state that the trade will be resumed once

more and that the Dutch will evince their renewed friendliness to the queen by restoring the artillery they had taken from her palace together with some new presents, and regulate in closer detail the methods of dealing with offenders on either side and the law applicable to them. The Raja of Travancore and the Raja of Kayangulam (Colecoulaugh) stand guarantors for the performance of the Dutch promises to the queen (cl. 16).

cclvi—also 31st March, 1662—This is also a renewal of an old alliance dating from 1643 with the king of Kayangulam—tot naeder verbintenisse end verklaringh, for closer friendship and the clearer understanding of the old treaty of 1643 which would continue in full force (*Zall Zijn en blijven in volle weerde*). The king with whom the original alliance had been concluded was dead, and this was perhaps the reason for the new treaty. There was also the need to declare clearly the Dutch intention not to leave the Malabar Coast in view of the uncertainty caused by Goens' failure before Cochin and his return to Batavia. The new treaty provides for a strict monopoly in the pepper trade of Kayangulam in favour of the Dutch to the exclusion of all others particularly the English, French and Portuguese. The king was to forbid all exports by others, by land or sea; pepper caught while being transported unlawfully will be confiscated and divided equally between the Company and the king. The Company was to have the privilege of building a factory-house of stone on the sea-side or river bank for storing pepper, of the dimensions allowed by the king. The document is signed for the Company by Ysbrant Godsken commissioned on this behalf by Van Goens.

In his short preface to the document, Heeres states that Van Goens left the Malabar Coast at the beginning of March, 1662, leaving behind Godsken and others to him and refers to Schouten *Voyagie I*, 300, have not been able to consult Schouten but I rather think that Van Goens did not leave Quilon before the end of March. He signed the last treaty with Quilon and deputed Godsken to sign the treaty with Kayangulam, because he could not be in two places on the same day, and obviously he was in a hurry to leave for Batavia. This brings us to the end of the documents relating to the dispositions made by Van Goens after the failure of his first attempt to take Cochin.

I now come to the series of documents relating to the actual capture of Cochin by the Dutch in January, 1663. And the first of the series, which has somewhat baffled Heeres,¹² is interesting because it reveals the part played by the Anjikaimal on this occasion of which we have had no account so far. By the end of December, 1662, it became clear that the Portuguese would soon lose Cochin to the Dutch. But obviously the Dutch did not rely solely on the strength of their arms and employed all diplomatic methods open to them to attract the numerous princelings of the land to their side. The Anjikaimals who were rulers of Ernakulam and the surrounding area to the north and east,

12. The name Anjikaimal is used both of the ruler and his land, so called because it is generally ruled by five Kaimals (Chieftains). But the name occurs only in the singular in the document before us.

went over to the Dutch side, and this is witnessed by the next document noticed here.

cclxii — 4th January, 1663—The Anjikaimal having expressed his readiness to be then and ever the friend and servant of the Dutch Company, forsaking all his old relations with the Portuguese, Goda Varma (Godorme), and Porkad (Porca) and their allies, the Dutch promised in their turn to uphold the position, dignity and honour of the Kaimal for himself, (notice the singular) and, on behalf of the Dutch, by Lucan Van Waarden, Councillor and Secretary to the expedition, at the command of Van Goens. The document is also attested by Palitter (Paliyat Achan) as well as two persons in the service of Anjikaimal.

cclxiii — not dated, but certainly January, 1663. Recognition by the Raja of Porkad of the Dutch conquest of his territory.

cclxiv — also not dated but most likely of the same date as the last. By this document the king of Cochin appoints to the office of Ragidoor (Minister?) the Dutch captain Hendrick Reyns (which Heeres thinks may be a mistake for Hendrick van Rheede) besides the Palitter Ittekomenen. Heeres thinks that this appointment was made before victory was gained against the Portuguese when the land was in revolt against the king who was on the side of the Dutch. Heeres also raises the question if Paliyat Ittekomaran of this document is different from Paliyat Komi Menon of ccliv.

cclxv — also undated and assigned by Heeres to the period before the fall of Cochin, is a curious document. Its preamble calls it an ola of satisfaction which the king of Idapalli (Repolijn) rendered on account of the death of a topass whom the Raja had caused to be killed and in whose place he had surrendered to the Company one of his nairs along with the rifle of the dead man. It then proceeds to set forth details regarding facilities promised by the Raja for the purchase of pepper by the Company in his territory.

cclxvi — 8th January, 1663—This is the well known treaty of peace between the Portuguese Commander of Cochin and the Dutch containing the terms of the surrender.¹³ The date of the document is usually given as 7th January. The entry at the end shows that the terms were negotiated on the 7th and ratified on the 8th.

cclxvii — some dated between 8th January and 15th February, 1663. Raja of Mangatti territory immediately north of Anjikaimal, declared himself friend of the Dutch Company.

cclxviii — 15th February, 1663, related to the evacuation and handing over of Cranganur to the native powers, viz., the Raja of Cranganur, and the Zamorin as his overlord. Only Van Goens and Secretary Huisman signed the paper.

cclxx — 22nd February, 1663, with a supplement dated 26th February. The preamble to this record reads: "Confirmation of friendship made and newly cemented between the Great Zamorin and the United Dutch East India Company on the separation of the Zamorin from the lands of the king of Cochin, written and translated into Dutch as follows by the third prince and successor himself." The date is given in Malabar era as well as in the Christian,

18. See *Dutch in Malabar*, p. 14

16th Kumbham (Camboe) 838 corresponding to 22nd February, 1663. The treaty is concluded in the city of Cochin. It is just an alliance for mutual friendship and defence against common enemies to last as long as the sun and the moon endure.

cclxxi — 1st March, 1663. Preamble: 'Translation of an ola of friendship and alliance between the ruler of Parur and the Company.' Parur is just north of Mangatti.

cclxxii — 14th March, 1663.¹⁴ This is an important tripartite treaty of alliance and confederation among the Dutch Company, the king of Cochin and the Raja of Porkad. Porkad had been fighting on the side of the Portuguese, and this treaty is a recognition of the new situation arising out of the Dutch conquest of Cochin. There are twelve short clauses providing for mutual amnesty and perpetual friendship for the future. The Raja of Porkad promised to regulate the pepper and cinnamon trade in his country according to the wishes of the king of Cochin and the Dutch, to allow the Dutch to build a stone factory (pakhuis) not to export or import elephants, to demolish part of the fortifications he had erected against Cochin and to leave the rest to be repaired at the pleasure of the Company or Cochin, and lastly to allow the Dutch all the privileges that the Portuguese had ever enjoyed. In their turn, the Dutch promised him protection against his enemies. The document will be made in six copies — three on paper in Dutch and three on silver olas in Malayalam — attested by all parties, and each party shall keep one copy in either language.

cclxxiii — 20th March, 1663.¹⁵ This is the definite treaty of alliance between the Dutch and the king of Cochin, called here Moctadaville, i.e., Mutta Tavalli, after he had been duly installed on the 6th March. The king ceded to the Dutch in perpetuity the lands held by the Portuguese in his territory, and accepts the Dutch Company to whom he owes the crown, as his protector. He promises the monopoly in pepper and cinnamon trade to the Dutch and to regulate the traffic by sea to secure this end and allow the Dutch to erect strongholds needed for this purpose at Polliport, Porkad and Vaipeen. The Dutch Admiral promises on behalf of the Company to maintain the king in his state and pay him tolls according to custom or agreement. All Christian, living on the seashore were to be under Dutch jurisdiction. Provisions follow for the regulation of justice, coinage, trade of native merchants and the prohibition of the entry of foreign priests, particularly the Jesuits.

14. Copy in Menon, ii, pp. 115-17. The Rajas of Cochin Porkad are called here Perinbadappu valia Tampuran and Chempakassari Swarupam respectively in the preamble. The date is given as 14th Meenam, 838. There are other variations in the clauses, Presumably Mr. K. P. Menon gets his copies from the Cochin records; he does not mention the source.

15. Copy in Padmanabha Menon, ii, pp. 92-4 of notes. Raja of Cochin, Virakeralaswarupam belonging to the Mutta Tavali of the Chaliyar branch. The coinage clause 11 of Dutch text becomes 14 in the other.

I would conclude by citing an interesting passage in the *Memoirs* of Francis Martin who spent some days in Cochin in January, 1669. on his outward voyage from France to Surat.¹⁶ "The town of Cochin is very celebrated in the conquests of the Portuguese in India. It is the first place they had to themselves. People who have read histories of this nation would have known of the fine things they have done there supported by the king of the country against the Zamorin or Emperor of Calicut. It was the capital of their possessions before the capture of Goa by Alfonso Albuquerque to whom history has given the name of 'the Great.' The town flourished long in their hands. It is beautiful and big, the churches well built, as well as the other buildings. The Dutch took it from the Portuguese in the year. . . There have been, nevertheless, some protests against this capture, the king of Portugal holding that this action was against the terms and subsequent to the treaty of peace concluded between the two nations in Europe ;¹⁷ but such protests must needs be upheld more by right of force than by way of proceedings. The Dutch have ridiculed them and have guarded the place, of which they have fortified more than half to economise the garrison that they have been obliged to hold there. They were working at these fortifications when we passed by it. We wanted to walk along the walls of the town, but we were made to understand that the Governor would not like it and perhaps would prevent us from it, and we gave up the idea. At present it is a town with up-to-date and very good fortifications. The most important commerce of the Dutch in these places is in pepper and cardamom. There is a river which flows along the walls on the north of the town, in which we are told there is about ten or twelve feet of water on the bar. The situation of this place is beautiful, the air good, but the water very injurious causing ruptures and swelling the legs of those who remain there some years. It is one of the best places on this coast where one could rest oneself. All the commodities are found in abundance, but we have to pay dearly for what is taken by land. When I entered the place for the first time, twelve or fifteen soldiers, Germans, Frenchmen and Walloons came to meet me, and asked me loudly and without restraint if we had come there to save them from the slavery in which they were, and added that the greater part of the garrison would help us. I repulsed these men and represented to them that they were playing at courting imprisonment. However, I had some trouble in getting rid of them. The Dutch who then needed the people of the soil who were mostly Christians and Catholics to work on the fortifications that they were building, permitted the public exercise of their religion in a church that they had in the place, and a father Cordelier was the pastor ; since then the place has been put in the state in which it is at present. They have restrained this liberty inside the town."

With this may also be compared the following from Baldaeus, which states in general terms the dispositions made by the Dutch after their conquest

16. Vol. I, pp. 189-4. Ed. A. Martineau

17. Of *Dutch in Malabar*, pp. 18-19 ; also Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, i, p. 207

of Cochin and attested in detail by the documents reviewed above : "Being thus become entirely masters of Cochin, after it had been one hundred and fifty years in the possession of the Portuguese, the Dutch general made it his chiefest care to issue his orders not to molest the Portuguese, but to observe punctually the article of the capitulation. The next was to demolish a certain part of the houses and churches of the city, in order to draw it into a more narrow compass, and to render the fortification the more regular, the former requiring too great a number of men to defend them. The king of Cochin being crowned, and divers of the neighbouring petty princes obliged to become his tributaries, several strict alliances were made with the neighbouring kings to the south of the river of Cochin."¹⁸

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

18. Churchill's *Voyages*, iii, p. 571.

The Failure of Anglo-Maratha Negotiations Regarding the Cession of Cuttack

EVER since the menace¹ of a Maratha invasion into Bengal in the time of Mir Qasim,² the authorities at Calcutta had been desirous of occupying Cuttack for the purpose of strengthening the frontier on that side. When Clive became Governor of Bengal for the second time, he sought³ to obtain Cuttack by peaceful negotiations with Januji Bhonsla, and sent⁴ a vakil to Nagpur for this purpose.

After Clive's departure from India, Udepuri Gusain came to Bengal as Januji's agent to negotiate the question of the Bengal Chauth, and the cession of Cuttack.⁵ Verelst offered to pay 13 lacs in lieu of the Chauth, if Cuttack was ceded.⁶ But Januji assumed a stern attitude,⁷ and sent threatening letters demanding the Chauth. Udepuri represented that his master could not cede Cuttack on any other terms than the annual payment of 16 lacs to be accounted from the Company's assumption of the Diwani.⁸

At its meeting of February 10, 1768, the Select Committee finally approved of the terms of a treaty with Januji, but the latter once again threatened to invade Bengal.⁹ If the payment of the chauth was made conditional on his cession of Cuttack, Verelst took no notice of the threats, and sent the proposed treaty to Januji through Gopalpuri Gusain.¹⁰

After waiting for several months, Verelst heard from Januji towards the middle of October¹¹ that he had no objection to the proposed agreement, if it were modified in a manner acceptable¹² to him. This sudden change in Januji's attitude appears to have been due to the embassy of Gopalpuri Gusain who

1. Abs. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 45.

2. Beng. Pub. Cons. May 8, 1761, & Trans. P. L. I. 1761, No. 404.

3. „ Sel. Com. Jan. 9, 1776.

4. Trans. R. 1767-69, Nos. 49-50.

5. Beng. Sel. Com. Feb. 23, 1767.

6. „ Sel. Com. July, 6, 1767, & July 14, 1767.

7. Letter to Court, Sept. 26, 1767, Beng. Sel. Com. Sept. 30, 1767.

8. Beng. Sel. Com. Feb. 10, 1768.

9. Trans. R. 1768, No. 208.

10. Trans. R. 1768, No. 221 & 296

11. Trans. R. 1768 Nos 285-287

12. „ „ „ No. 287

tried his utmost to bring a rapprochement between his master and the English. Januji said to the vakil, "I am always desirous of friendship and union, but as this treaty has been on foot for eight years, I have sustained great loss. I placed entire confidence in the letters the English sent me during the war with Mir Qasim Ali Khan, assuring me that the sums would be delivered on condition that I would not give that Nawab any assistance. Those assurances were repeated by Mir Zainul Abidin Khan who was sent by Lord Clive during his administration with presents and letters from his Lordship. His Lordship declared that he had no interested views for this purpose, but nothing has appeared since but craft and guile. If this had not been the case, by our wise counsel and unanimity, our names would have been celebrated throughout Hindustan as well as in the Deccan, and the valour of the English nation would have been familiar to every ear in the known world. Now that the English Sardars are desirous of friendship and union, I am perfectly agreeable to this; but the present treaty requires many stipulations in order that no future obstacles may arise and that it may be observed by our posterity."¹³

The "memorial of demands" sent by Januji was soon obtained from Udepuri Gusain, and was later considered by the Select Committee at its meeting of November 29. It is interesting to note that Januji was reluctant to rely on a treaty signed by the Nawab of Bengal, or by the English Governor, and that he demanded one signed and sealed by the king of England. The reason for this demand was thus stated by Sambhaji Ganesh, "The gentlemen (i.e. the Governors) are appointed for three years or 1000 days; in case a negotiation is carried on with them on account of some being displaced and others succeeding them, it will not appear what sort of an alliance subsists between the English and the Marathas."¹⁴

The principal demands¹⁵ of Januji were as follows:—

1. The temple of Jagannath at Puri shall continue to remain in his possession.
2. The duties and taxes paid by the pilgrims shall be collected by his own officials.
3. The English shall promise to help him with money and arms if he required them. He, on his part, was willing to promise similar assistance to the English in their hour of need.
4. In addition to the stipulated amount of sixteen lacs of rupees, the customary presents of elephants, fine cloths, jewels, etc., shall also be given to him.
5. An extra lakh of rupees shall be paid for the mutasaddis of the collections and for the army.
6. The promised amount shall be paid in two instalments in Murshidabad siccas.
7. The payment shall be accounted for from the 1st of October, 1765.

13. Trans. R. 1768. No. 288

14. " " " No. 296

15. Beng. Sel. Com Novr. 29, 1768

8. In addition to a duly authenticated treaty to be procured from Europe, a similar treaty shall be executed by Mr. Verelst, and witnessed by Saifuddaulah, Muhammad Riza Khan, and others.
9. A similar treaty shall be executed by Saifuddaulah.
10. The chaukis on the borders of Orissa shall not be interfered with.
11. The guns lying at Sambalpur shall be transported to Chatter Ghir.
12. The treaty after being duly signed shall be sent to him through Udepuri Gusain.
13. The amount already agreed upon, shall be increased at least by two lakhs.
14. At least two years' dues shall be paid in advance.

As most of the afore-said terms appeared to be too extravagant¹⁶ to the Governor and the Select Committee, they proposed the following modifications, and resolved,¹⁷ in their meeting of December 13, to communicate these to Januji for his opinion :—

1. Januji's agent would be allowed to look after the due performance of religious ceremonies in the temple of Jagannath at Puri, but he would remain liable to be punished for misbehaviour.
2. The customs duties and other taxes paid by the pilgrims would be collected by an agent of the Nawab.
3. Mutual assistance would be given, only when it was convenient.
4. The additional presents asked for, would be given, if similar presentation was made to the Nawab.
5. No extra payment would be made beyond the promised amount of sixteen lakhs of rupees.
6. There was no objection to the sixth demand.
7. As it had been formerly agreed upon that the revenues of Cuttack collected from the 1st of October, 1765, were to be brought to the Nawab's credit, Januji would allow a strict scrutiny to be made into the accounts of the revenue collections.
8. There was no objection to the eighth demand.
9. There was no objection to the ninth demand.
10. There was no objection to the tenth demand.
11. The eleventh demand was not considered by the Committee to be seriously insisted upon by Januji.
12. A Company's servant would accompany Udepuri Gusain to Nagpur with the treaty.
13. Not more than sixteen Lakhs of rupees would be paid to Januji.
14. Two years' dues would be paid in advance, if it could be possibly done.

From the minutes of the Select Committee it is apparent that the authorities at Calcutta were anxious at this time to conclude a treaty with Januji from purely political considerations. The war with Haider Ali was still going on in the

16. Letter to Court, Jan. 6, 1769

17. Beng. Sel. Com. Dec. 13, 1768

south, and the President and Council of Fort St. George pressed for assistance, stating that there was little prospect of gaining any advantage over the enemy.¹⁸ They gave the alarming news that Haider Ali was trying to enlist the support of the Peshwa Madhav Rao who was said to be determined¹⁹ to quarrel with the English, and who was likely to enter into an alliance with Haider Ali against the English.²⁰ The likelihood of a junction²¹ between Madhav Rao and Haider Ali increased the anxiety of the authorities at Calcutta. They, therefore, regarded²² an immediate agreement with Januji as the best means of preventing Madhav Rao from marching to the south in aid of Haider Ali.²³ The Governor and the Select Committee thus subsequently explained their object to the Directors, "Our principal object of bringing about a treaty with him (Januji) was to divert Madhav Rao from entering the Carnatic to the assistance of Hyder Ally." It is needless to point out that the view taken by the Calcutta Government was in the main correct, for in any war with the Peshwa the alliance of Januji whose jealousy²⁴ of the latter's power was well known was bound to be of the greatest benefit to the English.²⁵ Besides, even if the threatened war with the Peshwa did not immediately come about, Januji's alliance was necessary²⁶ so long as the war was in progress in the Deccan. An understanding with the latter would not only cause the desired "diversion of the Maratha power,"²⁷ and lead²⁸ to the "repose and security" of Bengal, but would also enable the authorities to render the most effectual and expeditious support to Madras through Cuttack.²⁹

The protracted negotiations now seemed to be nearing a satisfactory conclusion, and the Directors also expressed their whole-hearted approval of the policy of the Calcutta Government in the following words, "We think it both equity and sound policy to pay them their chauth, and shall much approve it, if it can be done on the terms you mention, of their ceding to us their possessions in Orissa, which would join our Bengal possessions to the Circars, and

18. Letter from President and Council of Fort St. George in the Secret Department, Nov. 11. 1768

19. Letter from Mr. C. Broome. Resident at the Court of the Peshwa, Novr 6, 1768

20. Letter from Mr. C. Broome Resident at the Court of the Peshwa, Novr. 14, 1768

21. Letter from President and Council of Bombay, Nov 9, 1768

22. Beng. Sel. Com, Dec. 13. 1768

23. Letter to Court, April 6, 1769

24. Beng. Sel. Com. Dec. 13, 1768

25. Letter to President & Council of Fort St. George in the Secret Department, Dec.

17, 1768. Letter to President and Council of Bombay, Dec. 17, 1768

26. Beng. Sel. Com. Dec. 23, 1768

27. " " 13, 1768

28. Ibid.

29. Beng. Sel. Com. Dec. 17, 1768

would afford us the means of preventing any hostile attempts of an European enemy who might land in that part of Orissa."³⁰

Contrary to all expectations, however, Januji sent ordinary letters and formal messages through his vakil without indicating any desire to ratify the proposed treaty.³¹ Eventually the negotiations were completely terminated,³² for in the early months of 1769 Januji remained preoccupied with his plans against Madhav Rao, and during the summer there was an open rupture between them. In March it was first definitely reported that Madhav Rao was bent³³ on crushing the power of Januji, consequently the Select Committee thought it prudent to suspend the negotiation with the latter for the present.³⁴ Verelst wrote to Col. Smith on March 21, "The very critical situation of the Company's affairs on the Coast compels us to suspend our negotiation with Januji."³⁵ The Governor was apparently not prepared to be needlessly embroiled in a quarrel with the Peshwa on behalf of an uncertain ally; and he decided not to form an alliance with Januji, until Madhav Rao actually threatened to attack the Carnatic.³⁶ He thought it "highly impolitic at this juncture to continue the negotiations" with Januji, for, as he wrote to the Directors, "his fate must actually be decided even before we could help him against the Peshwa."³⁷ The Madras authorities also deprecated³⁸ the idea of an alliance with Januji in the present state of affairs when war seemed to be imminent between the latter and the Peshwa.

Januji's relations with Madhav Rao had lately become so critical that he had to make repeated appeal³⁹ to Shah Alam for "a general union and confederacy" against the Peshwa. Januji represented that "instigated by his inveterate enmity and long subsisting jealousy," Madhav Rao had "invaded the partimonial territories of His Majesty's bounden servant and vassal,⁴⁰ and in contravention of "the most sacred engagements" had "circumvented him by wiles and stratagems and laid his possessions waste."⁴¹ The authorities at

30. Letter from Court, March 16, 1768

31. Cop. I, 1770, No. 30

32. Nothing was heard from the Maratha side except occasional demands for money (Trans. R. 1769, No. 12)

33. Letter to President and Council of Fort St. George in the Secret Department, March 21, 1769

34. Beng. Sel. Com. March 21, 1769

35. Letter to Col. R. Smith, March 21, 1769

36. Letter to President and Council of Fort St. George in the Secret Department, March 21, 1769

37. Letter to Court, April 6, 1769

38. .. from President and Council of Fort St. George in the Secret Department, March 20, 1769

39. Papers of news received March 7, 1769.

40. Beng. Sel. Com. March 21, 1769

41. Letter from Januji to the King (Vide Beng. Sel. Com. [March 21, 1769])

Calcutta, however, maintained a strictly neutral attitude, and afforded no help to Januji in his war with the Peshwa. In May, Sambhuji Ganesh strongly urged the Governor to assist his master "at this critical juncture," and offered to send an agent to Calcutta to negotiate with him on this subject.⁴² Verelst politely declined to promise any assistance on the plea that peace would soon be concluded between Januji and the Peshwa.⁴³ Early in June the report of Januji's success against the Peshwa was received from Col. Smith,⁴⁴ and about a month later the President and Council of Fort St. George intimated that peace had been concluded between the two parties.⁴⁵

Hopes of a settlement regarding Cuttack revived after the establishment of peace between Madhav Rao and Januji, and Verelst once more made friendly overtures to Sambhaji Ganesh, and informed him of his desire "to send an English vakil to prove the sincerity of his heart, to strengthen the bond of friendship existing between the Raja and the English, and to provide for the proper settlement of every business."⁴⁶ Sambhaji Ganesh, however, gave no reply to the Governor's letter, evidently because his master had now decided not to cede Cuttack on any terms. Reminders⁴⁷ were sent to him in vain. Finally, when Udepuri Gusain intimated⁴⁸ his decision to go back⁴⁹ to Nagpur, the Governor despaired of reaching an agreement with the Maratha Chief. In his letter to the vakil he still expressed the hope that⁵⁰ on reaching Nagpur the latter would endeavour to strengthen the foundations of the friendship between his master and the English. After sending a noncommittal reply⁵¹ beforehand, Sambhaji Ganesh at last plainly told the Governor that as peace had been established with Madhav Rao "through the valour and good conduct of his master," there remained "no occasion for any new negotiations or deputies."⁵² Even the usual neighbourly relations seemed to be difficult to maintain, when presumably at the instance of his master, Sambhaji Ganesh refused to allow an English force to pass through Cuttack on the plea that there was scarcity in his province, and that the English troops might plunder the country while passing through it.

In his farewell letter⁵³ to the Council written on the eve of his departure

42. Cop. R. 1769, No. 22

43. " I. 1769-70, No. 28

44. Beng. Sel. Com. June 8, 1768

45. " " " July 8, 1768

46. Cop. I. 1769-70, No. 32

47. " " No. 56

48. " R. 1769, No. 97

49. From the Dastak granted by the Governor, it appears that Udepuri Gusain had a large retinue :— Savars 50, Barqandazes 200, Camels 30, Mules, 60 Oxen 60, Palkis 4, Chau palas 25, Bahlis 4, servants 400 (Vide Cop. I, 1769-70, No. 94)

50. Cop. I. 1769-70, No. 74

51. " R. No. 82

52. Trans. R. 1769, No. 161

53. Letter to Mr. John Carter and the Council at Fort William, Dec. 16, 1769

from India, Verelst thus expressed his disappointment at the failure of his long and wearisome negotiations with Januji, "I once flattered myself that the former (Januji) would have acceded to a treaty for the cession of Orissa, but his evasion and artful behaviour has convinced me that the Marathas will never desert their old and characteristic manners. After three years of negotiation, much trouble, and some expense, no progress has been made towards a conclusion; on the contrary, he has studiously avoided any declaration of his sentiments." It is amusing to find that Januji recriminated with equal bitterness against the dilatory and hesitating policy⁵⁴ of the English in the following⁵⁵ words "Udepuri Gusain has for the last five years been praising the English Sardars for their uprightness, but they have not as yet given a proof that they possess that quality."

Embittered by disappointment, Verelst naturally ascribed the failure of the negotiations to "the artful character⁵⁶ of the Marathas, but there are intelligible reasons why the proposed scheme for the cession of Cuttack ultimately fell through. In the first place, the refusal of the English to assist him against the Peshwa seems to have given the greatest offence to Januji, and it was chiefly in disgust and pique that he abruptly stopped all negotiations with them after coming to terms with the Peshwa. He bitterly complained afterwards that in his hour of need the English had failed "to comfort his heart by sending help," and reminded the Governor in bitter sarcasm that "the touchstone of true friendship is misfortune and danger."⁵⁷ In the second place, being badly in need of money, Januji was not prepared to part with Cuttack without receiving payment of three years' rent in advance,⁵⁸ As, however, the Select Committee could not readily accede to this term for obvious reasons, Januji who had entered into these negotiations entirely from pecuniary considerations saw no particular benefit in losing what he considered to be a valuable possession.⁵⁹ In the third place, Januji had entertained the proposal regarding the cession of Cuttack at a time when being in alliance with Raghubath Rao he had no danger to apprehend from Poona, but his war with Madhav Rao seems to have convinced him of the strategic importance of Orissa as a base for his reserve forces. This accounts for the fact that in his subsequent correspondence⁶⁰ with Cartier, Januji repeated his demand of the Chauth "as settled and established by former Nazims," but scrupulously avoided mentioning his former willingness to cede Cuttack in return. In the last place, Januji had throughout claimed the Chauth of Bengal as a matter of right, and had always been reluctant to accept it as a price for his cession of Cuttack. The absolute unwillingness of the English to pay him the Chauth, notwithstanding his repeated reminders for it, was another circumstance which partly accounts for Januji's obstinate refusal to give up Cuttack.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.

54. Trans. R and I. 1770. No. 25

56. Beng. Sel. Com Dec. 15, 1769

58. Ibid, Nov. 29, 1761

60. Trans. and I, 1770, Nos. 23, 240 ; Trans. R, 1771, No. 104

55. Trans. R and I. 1770 No. 240

57. Ibid, 1770 No. 28

59. Trans. R. 1767—68 No. 450

The Janjira Expedition of Baji Rao I

Peshwa's First Offensive

THE death of Kanhoji Angria marks a turning point in Maratha relations with Konkan and had far-reaching repercussions. Kanhoji had established a sort of sovereignty over his territory which had been respected so far and Konkan had been left unmolested as his particular sphere of influence. The great Admiral being removed, it was decided at home to strengthen royal authority in that quarter. The time chosen was most opportune; the Nizam, the representative of the great Mughal, had been worsened in the contest with the Marathas at Palkhed and he had been forced to abandon his ally, the Kolhapur Raja; that prince who had challenged Shahu's supremacy, finally gave up his claims by the treaty of Warna and accepted the position of an honourable vassal. The rivalry between the Peshwa and the Senapati, though it ended disastrously for the Senapati's party, roused against the Peshwa almost national resentment and united against him the entire court, from whom the Peshwa could find protection only in the benignant influence of the throne. The king's prestige rose high; his authority became supreme and he now chose to direct the nation's arms to the conquest of Konkan which had remained outside Swaraj territory in spite of Imperial grants and which Kanhoji had been unable to wrest completely from the Sidi's stranglehold single-handed. The Sidi's power from Janjira as centre had spread in a fanlike fashion and had thrust itself almost to the foot of the Western Ghats, covering the entire Kolaba district with the exception of Pen and Alibag taluks and reaching Chiplun and Anjanwel in the south. His territory thus included Raygarh, the capital of the great Shivaji, a place of sanctity to the Marathas, which their racial pride and national honour would not allow them to be left in the hands of an alien. The expedition, therefore, was not of the nature of a new adventure, but was directed to the recovery of Maratha patrimony that had been lost to the enemy during the interregnum of Sambhaji's death and Shahu's succession.

On his father's death, Sekhoji succeeded to the Admiralty receiving the royal robes on the 5th Aug. 1729.¹ He immediately yielded to the pressure from Satara and agreed whole heartedly to support the expedition against the Sidi with his fleet. The attack on Janjira was, however, delayed by dissensions in the house of Angria. There was rivalry and ill-feeling between Sekhoji and his younger brother, Sambhaji; the latter was impatient of any authority and chose to remain away when the Admiral visited his liege-lord at Satara in 1731.² The conquest of Konkan was canvassed at Court and in consequence Bajirao

1. S. P. D. XXXIII, No. 1

2. Rajwade, Vol. III, No. 242, 244

visited Alibag in February, 1732,³ which visit was returned by Sekhoji in April next. In December of the same year a rapprochement with the Nizam was effected by a friendly meeting and plans matured for surprising Janjira. The negotiations were entrusted to Yashwantrao Potnis who succeeded in seducing Shekhji, a powerful Sidi Sardar. Shekhji promised to transfer his allegiance to the Marathas on condition that he was put in command of the fleet, given a large portion of the territory under Janjira and his brother appointed second in command at Raygarh.⁴ While the Marathas were preparing to strike at the enemy, their plans were suddenly pushed forward by the death of Sidi Rasul of Janjira (Feb?), and the split among his commanders about the successor. The Sidi's eldest son, Abdulla, was murdered and his grandson, Abdur Rahman, fled to the Marathas for protection.⁵ This was an opportunity the Marathas were long waiting for. An army of two thousand under the Peshwa accompanied by Fateshing Bonsle as royal representative was directed to proceed to Konkan and strike a blow at Janjira. Another under the Pratinidhi was to attack the Sidi's southern possession. The Peshwa marched with a war chest of Rs. 28,000, by the shortest route through the mountainous Bhor country by way of Pali Kolar near Surgad, Sikare, arrived before Rajpuri on the last day of Baishakha, completing his arduous march within a week.⁶ The suddenness of the approach of the Marathas completely surprised the enemy. Rajpuri, Khokri, on the mainland fell without resistance as also the Sidi's fleet lying in the port.⁷ Sekhji, the powerful Sidi Sardar, walked over to the Marathas and with him the Peshwa sat down at Bala Roza at Rajpuri⁸ to conduct the operations of the siege.

The plan that had been suggested to the Peshwa and accepted by him for the conduct of siege was to secure the co-operation of the Angrian navy and attack the island castle from land and sea. Shekhji, the right hand man, was in the Peshwa's camp ready to guide the ships in the waters round Janjira. With the enemy's ranks split up, it was expected that his resistance would soon crumble and the castle would pass into Marathas' hands.

"The fortified island of Janjira lies just within the entrance of the Rajpuri creek, the mainland being half a mile distant to the east and a mile to the west. In shape it is irregularly oval, and is girt by walls which at low tide rise abruptly from the water to a height of from forty-five to fifty feet. On the east side opposite Rajpuri is a large and handsome gateway with steps leading to the water and on the west facing the open sea a small postern gate. The walls are battlemented, strongly loopholed and have their faces covered with nineteen bastions eight feet across and thirty feet deep, at intervals of about 90 feet."⁹ The passage from Rajpur to the castle is covered by artillery

3. Rajwade Vol III No. 244

4. Duff p. 427, Vol. I, 1912 Ed

5. Shahu Bakhar p. 89

6. Unpublished Diary Bajirao Balal

7. S. P. D. III 2-Purandare Dafter No. 104 & Forrest Home Series Vol. II, p. 52

8. Rajwade, III, No. 2

9. Kolaba Gazetteer

making the enemy's approach well nigh impossible. The castle had weathered several attacks of the great Shivaji and had successfully stood two long sieges. Its capture could be secured only by an artillery that could silence the enemy's guns and blast away the walls or a complete blockade that would starve out the garrison till it is surrendered. The Peshwa followed different methods. As the opposition was disorganised, he chose a strategy of lightening rapidity—marching up to the castle before the enemy was aware of his presence and storming the place. On his way to Rajpuri he had invited Sekhoji Angria to meet him at Pali¹⁰ to devise plans for supporting his attack with the fleet.

The response of Angria was disappointing. Though the expedition was under discussion for some time Sekhoji was unaware when exactly he would be called upon to co-operate in the enterprise. When messengers from the Peshwa arrived, a part of his fleet were away towards south organising the recent conquest of Ratnagiri and the Admiral had to plead his inability to support the Peshwa before Janjira. The Arabian sea is particularly violent during the early months of monsoon.—May to July—when all the small crafts are hauled ashore. The Admiral refused to risk his fleet in the dangerous waters.¹¹ Shekhji, the Sidi's Sardar, who was expected to take the Marathas inside the fort could achieve little.¹² The two main props of the scheme having proved unreliable, it had to be reviewed and revised.

Yielding to repeated advice from the Peshwa, the Admiral at last met him on May 6th at Rajpuri and in personal discussions that lasted over a fortnight new lines of operation were devised.¹³ The grandee's plan of swift and total destruction of the Sidi and the establishment of Maratha authority over the entire sea-board appeared to Angria as chemical. On the country, he advocated an altogether different plan of action. According to him the Peshwa's force was to remain encamped before Janjira and watch its land communications. The Pratinidhi, he advised, should exert pressure at Anjanwal. Angria after bringing his ships ashore would negotiate with the Portuguese and the English to secure their neutrality and employ the monsoon months in reducing Thal, Revas, Chaul and such other coastal points from which the Sidi drew provisions and sent raiding parties to plunder his towns and villages. After the abatement of the monsoon, his fleet would assault the isolated Underi island; his rear thus secured, the Angrian fleet would then sally to the attack of Janjira.¹⁴ Frankly Angria's vision was bounded by his small territory of Kolaba the security of which appeared to him his primary concern. In the drive against the Sidi he envisaged the opportunity of possessing himself of the several points of vantage from which the Sidi had long continued to molest his territory.

Unused to sea-warfare, the Peshwa found himself in a strange atmosphere

10. Brahendra Charita p. 40

11. S. P. D. XXXIII, No. 10

12. Kavyelihas Samgraha No. 22

13. Purandare Daftar No. 104 & S. P. D. XXXIII, pp. 11—15

14. S. P. D. XXXIII, p. 15

and unwillingly acquiesced in the new strategy proposed by the Admiral. While these discussions were progressing the enemy was not idle. The creek connecting the castle with Dighi and Rajpuri being left unguarded, the Sidi garrison managed to secure provisions by means of his ships, made a bold front and absolutely declined to deal with the Marathas except on its own terms.¹⁵ After a month's warfare the Peshwa saw the hopelessness of a rapid victory and realised that the enemy could be subdued only by an effective blockade by land and sea. The force he was commanding was unequal to the task and unless sufficiently augmented and aided by the navy could never hope to beat the enemy to his knee. He, therefore, informed the authorities at Satara that his position was untenable unless assured of ample resources in men and money which he estimated at 15,000 infantry, half of which was to be armed with matchlocks.¹⁶ Well aware of the weakness of the Marathas in this particular arm and the incapacity of the royal authority to organise effective measures, he advised the king to abandon the expedition and patch up a treaty with the Sidi on his own terms¹⁷ or if the project was to be persisted, to assist him sufficiently bearing in mind the magnitude of the project and difficulties of the situations. Swift came the Maharaja's replies to hold on while reinforcements would pour in the Konkon through the southern passes, and through Bhore, from the Sawants of Wari and Gaikawads in Guzerat.¹⁸ How empty these assurances were the Peshwa was to realise in the course of the campaign. A small force under the Pratinidhi, however, left the capital on its way to Janjira.

The Peshwa in the meanwhile was not having an easy time. The inland forts of the Sidi that had been abandoned on the approach of Maratha troops were occupied and garrisoned by detachments from the small force the Peshwa was commanding, which was further reduced by desertions on account of the inclement weather of the Konkan. Outposts were established at Danda, Rajpuri, Nanivali, Kumbharu—points from which the Sidi was suspected of drawing provisions.¹⁹ To seduce the garrison of Janjira, the Peshwa was advised by Shekhji to declare that his intentions were limited to secure the succession of Abdul Rahaman and establish lasting peace between the two neighbours.²⁰

CAPTURE OF RAYGARH :

Raygarh, the Gibraltar of the East, had been chosen by Shivaji as his capital for its particular situation and natural strength. After its surrender to Aurangzeb in 1689 it had been transferred by him to the Sidi for his valuable services in the war and had remained in his undisturbed possession for 44 years. One of the main objectives of the present expedition—its sur-

15. 95, xxx. 17, 18-xxxii

16. Pur. Daffar No. 102

17. Ibid. No. 106

18. S. P. D. III, 12 Kavyee, 22

19. S. P. D. No. 105

20. S. P. D. xxx, 95

render—had been secretly negotiated by Yashwant Rao Potnis. A small force of 800 was detached by the Peshwa to exert pressure and occupy the place.²¹ The garrison made overtures for surrender. The news unfortunately leaked out and the party that was carrying the money to be paid to the agents at Raygarh was surprised and plundered by Sidi's men.²² The Peshwa could ill-afford to satisfy the demand from his own slender war-chest and wrote to Satara to supply him with funds to forward his negotiations. Before replies were received from Satara, the Pratinidhi had arrived and Mahad (25 May), made fresh overtures through another channel and stole a march on the Peshwa by occupying for himself the place on 8th June.²³ The capture of Raygarh was hailed at Satara as a great exploit winning for the Pratinidhi warm praises from the Maharaja and the entire court. While the Pratinidhi won laurels for his success, the Peshwa remained encamped at Rajpuri, helpless before the barrier that lay between him and the island fort and chafing that his rival should have snatched from him the fruit of his labours.

The occupation of Raygarh by the Pratinidhi cannot be acclaimed as a great military exploit. Neither the small detachment despatched by the Peshwa, nor the entire force of the Pratinidhi could have carried the place by assault even if they had sat before it for one complete year. The Sidi was weak on land and had retired before the advancing waves of Maratha troops. Raygarh was isolated when its communications with Janjira were served by the establishment of the Maratha outpost at Pachad. But the garrison could have held out if they had the will to do so. The place was too strong for the small Maratha force operating against it. But where Maratha arms would have failed, their money and treachery succeeded.

The success at Raygarh instead of forwarding Maratha plans gave a definite set-back to the entire project. The secret methods pursued by the Pratinidhi for defeating the Peshwa's plans exasperated the latter and widened the breach already existing between them. The Peshwa vowed vengeance against his old rival for refusing to meet him at Rajpuri and foiling him at Raygarh. The concealed enmity of the two was fanned to white heat and vitiated the future conduct of the campaign. Instead of joint action and co-operation there were to be complaints and counter-complaints and frustration of each other's plans.

ANGRIA OPENS THE OFFENSIVE IN THE NORTH :—

As decided in their discussions at Rajpuri, Angria opened the offensive in the northern sector by capturing the Mughal post of Rajkot at Cheul, where the Sidi's men often found shelter in their cruises from north to south. A detachment under Tukoji Kadu while on its way to the Peshwa's camp at Rajpuri, came across a party of the enemy commanded by Sidi Anol, followed it up

21. S. P. D. III, No. 4

22. Ibid. XXXIII, pp. 20, 29

23. Ibid. III, 7

to Rajkot, and successfully stormed the place, destroying the last vestings of Mughal power in Kolaba (2 June 1733).²⁴ The attack of Thal and Revas next engaged the attention of Angria for which he begged the Peshwa to aid him with a few cavalry dreading the enemy's ravages in the country round Pen when his troops would be engaged at Thal.²⁵

That is about six miles north of Alibag and has a small square fort 100 by 80 with a gate facing north. It was from this place that the garrison of Underi drew its provisions of food and water and it was, therefore, peculiarly valued by it. Guns from the island covered it, and laid the attacking force open to a murderous fire. At this time the outer works were protected by a wooden palisade and by two bastions which commanded the gateway. Owing to rough conditions at sea, the occupants of the garhi were how helpless before superior numbers.

About the 1st July arrived the cavalry detachment from the Peshwa under Keshav Lingoji, Anandrao Shirke. Two days were spent in perfecting the preparations for the attack and the small force moved on Wednesday at the dead of night towards their objective. Thursday morning revealed the attacking force to the garrison, who welcomed them with a brisk fire supported by artillery from the island. The shells burst in Angria's force wounding many and killing a horse the admiral was riding. Braving the firer the men dug trenches in the sands and prepared batteries—three on the southern and one on the northern—and began to reply the enemy's fire. The outer works were soon demolished and the guns from the bastions silenced; the gunners all these while being exposed to the fierce fire from Underi. On Friday two more guns were drawn to the northern side and placed in position. On Saturday the whole day long a steady fire was maintained from both the batteries and worked havoc inside the walls. Two Sardars of note and a dozen soldiers were killed and many wounded. Realising the post could no longer be held, the enemy under cover of darkness escaped in boats to Underi, setting fire to the magazines inside. Thus fell Thal on Saturday the 7th July.²⁶

Even more remarkable was the success of the detachment sent against Revas. The party left at night and reaching the little harbour within a few hours, scaled the walls and completely surprised the inmates of the Garhi (4th July). A few soldiers who offered resistance were cut down, but most of them were allowed to make good their escape.²⁷

THE UNDERI REVERSAL.

Angria was now free to direct his arms against the last citadel of the enemy in his sector — the island of Underi. The Khanderi garrison was instructed to watch the movements of enemy ships and prevent their egress or

24. S. P. D. XXXIII, No. 23

25. Ibid. „ 30, 37, 39

26. Ibid. „ 58

27. Ibid, „ 58

ingress. Batteries were prepared on the mainland and began sending shells in the direction of Undri when on the 15th July twelve ships were sighted approaching the island. Angria's first surmise was that they were the Sidi's vessels carrying succour from Surat to the beleaguered garrison and instantly the shore batteries opened against them. The surmise however proved false; the ships flew English colours and were carrying the British expeditionary force for the relief of the island.²⁸ The Bombay Govt. apprehending that "it will be impossible for any small embarkation or ships of little force bound to this port to escape Angria's gallivatts, and consequently an end to the greatest part of their country trade" had decided "to use their utmost endeavours to prevent the island and fortress of Undri falling into the enemy's hands by succouring the same." Consequently an expedition consisting of two ensigns, four Sergeants, four corporals, forty European musketeers, sixty topasses and a train of artillery, provision and warlike stores sailed under convoy of the 'Mary' on the 15th, arrived off Underi on the 16th, taking a survey of the place and esteeming it tenable, they proposed to the Killedar to hoisting of the English flag, to which the Killedar agreeing to, the English flag was accordingly hoisted on the 16th in the morning under the discharge of the artillery of the fort and the gallivatts, when Angria from Khanderi and his batteries from Thal began and continued to fire pretty briskly at the fort of Underi for that and the several following days, but without doing any damage. On the 18th his gallivatts and bots returned to Bombay with the family of the garrison.²⁹ Rather than let the island fall into the hands of the Marathas, the Sidis had sold it to the English.

The occupation of the island of Underi by the English at this particular moment was clearly an infringement of international law. They justified their conduct by the necessity of the case. With Revas, Thal, Khanderi and Underi in his hands the Angria commanded the whole shipping of Bombay and was thus in a position to threaten the entire trade of the Company in western waters. By purchasing it from the Sidi, the English had forestalled the Angria. Maratha agents were already in Bombay negotiating for the neutrality of the English and this was their reply to his request for their neutral attitude. The English clearly showed how little they valued Maratha friendship when their interests were threatened.

On the heel of the occupation of Underi, news reached Angria of a dangerous combination of the Sidi, the English and the Portuguese³⁰; that the transfer of Underi was the first outward sign of this alliance; the allies were waiting for the monsoons to abate when they would open their country—offensive against him. The Portuguese, according to this plan, were to attack the Angria near Cheul, the English at Kolaba. Pressure at these points, it was thought, would oblige Angria to recall his detachments from Rajpuri and Anjanwal; Janjira would be relieved and the allied force would then land at Rajpuri and attack the Maratha army.³¹ To counteract this dangerous move

28. S. P. D. XXXIII, 63-65

29. Forrest, Home Series Vol. II, p. 54

30. S. P. D. III, 23

31. Ibid. ,, 28

Sekhoji suggested to the Peshwa to lend him a strong detachment of cavalry, to call reinforcements from Satara ; while his two fleets—the Kolaba and the Gheria Squadrons would effect a junction and put an end to the blockade at Kolaba and possibly would invade Bombay which would then be denuded of troops.³²

Whatever might have been Angria's ideas to fight the combination, the English occupation of Underi cramped for a time Angria's efforts. For since the island passed into their possession Shekhoji ever remained in apprehension of an attack from Bombay or Underi and was unwilling to march his men to Rajpuri and send his fleet against Janjira.³³

The rumours of the formidable combination, however, did not fructify immediately. Angria's envoys returned to Kolaba circulating that the English ever desired to live in amity with their neighbours and bore no hostility to Angria.³⁴ The main condition on which they would agree to a lasting and permanent peace was that their merchant-shipping should have a free passage, and that Angria should surrender his rights over the western waters of giving passports. Awaiting the results of the negotiations, it is worth while watching the progress of events in the southern sector.

The southern Maratha force was commanded by the Pratinidhi and had arrived at Mahad on the 25th May,³⁵ that is, exactly a month after the Peshwa set down before Janjira. Its first spectacular success, the occupation of Raygarh, had been achieved without firing a shot on June 8th.³⁶ From Raygarh the Pratinidhi had been directed by the Maharajah to march against Anjanwal, the Sidi's stronghold in the south.³⁷ Any attempt against Anjanwal without first reducing Gowalkot left the rear of the investing force open to attack. Gowalkot, besides, had assumed special importance on account of its vicinity to the holy shrine of Parashuram, a place sanctified by its association with Brahmendra Swami, the Raja's religious preceptor. The southern army was expected to capture these two places, and to free Parashuram once for all from the persecution and humiliation it had suffered from the Gowalkot Commandant. The Pratinidhi marched towards Chiplun (of which Gowalkot is the port) exhorting Angria's officers to co-operate with him.

In this region Angria had already a small force of about 1500 operating under two very capable officers, his Diwan Raghunath Hari and Bankaji Naik Mahadik.³⁸ The Sidi's possessions comprised Mandangarh, Bankot, Gowalkot, commanding the trade of Chiplun and the strong fort of Anjanwal on the mouth of the Vashisti, hardly 25 miles from Gowalkot. As the Sidi's main force was hard pressed at Janjira by the Peshwa the occupation of these isolated outposts appeared a matter of comparative ease. Bankot and Mandangarh fell

32. S. P. D. III, 24.

33. Ibid. ,, 50, 52, 62

34. Ibid. ,, 34, 42

35. Kavyetihas Sangroha No. 22

36. S. P. D. III, 7.

37. Ibid. XXXIII, 28, 38.

38. Ibid. III, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 25, 36 ; S. P. D. XXXIII, S. P. D. 62, 64, 1

at the first onslaught and passed into Angria's hands before the end of May and the conquest of the remaining places looked imminent. Vijaygarh on the northern bank of the Shastri river and facing Jaygarh, was invaded on 24th May by Bawaji Mhaske. Mahadik with a picked force of about 500 had turned towards Gowal to protect the temple of Shree Bhargava at Parashuram from desecration; beating back a party of the enemy that had ventured near the place Bankaji advanced near the fort to engage the enemy at close quarters. A hasty reconnaissance of the place, however, showed that without artillery the investment of the place could not be carried out. Bankaji, therefore, called for heavy guns from Joygarh to prosecute the siege with vigour. It was some time before the guns bombarding Vijaygarh could be removed to Gowal. Vijaygarh was stormed on 6th July³⁹ and before the besieging party could reinforce Bankaji's small force, the Sidi collecting together the remnants of the defeated garrisons of Anjanwal, Vijay and Gowal came down and attacked Bankaji on the 8th. The situation was critical; Mahadik's detachment was heavily outnumbered and for a time it looked that the day was lost. A small party of the Pratinidhi under Baburao that had previously joined Mahadik fell back to disorder. The brave officer, however, rallied his men to another attack and drove back the enemy. The Pratinidhi who had then arrived at the close of the day at Parashuram witnessed the fighting and hoped to win fresh laurels with the co-operation of Mahadik. On the next day Mahadik was joined by the reinforcements from Jaygarh and the fall of Gowalkot looked imminent.

Things had progressed satisfactorily so far. The Sidi's opposition was fast crumbling. The enemy now received aid from an unexpected quarter. The intrigues set on foot by the Peshwa vitiated the whole situation; the Pratinidhi's advance in the Anjanwal quarter was looked on with disfavour by Angria, who imagined that the former's success in that region would deprive him of a valuable part of the sea-board in the division of spoils. His views were encouraged by the Peshwa who was embittered by his failure against Janjira, by the Pratinidhi's late conduct towards him, especially in stealing a march over him at Raygarh. A suggestion had been made to the Peshwa by the Admiral that he should detach a part of his force to co-operate with his troops in the attack on Anjanwal. The Peshwa had readily assented, but when he found that the Pratinidhi had advanced in that quarter, he not only withheld his detachment, but advised Angria to instruct his southern force to defy the Pratinidhi's authority and refuse joint action with him. Angria who had made himself subservient to the Peshwa's views acquiesced in the suicidal policy. He instructed Mahadik and other officers to decline co-operating with the Pratinidhi, and to abandon the siege of Anjanwal if the latter should arrive at the place with his force. The instructions reached the Naik just at the moment when he had perfected his arrangements for an attack on Gowal, and the Naik in spite of admonitions from the Row withdrew,⁴⁰ leaving the Pratinidhi to carry

39. Rajwade III 805. S. P. D. XXXIII 66 gives the date as 80th June which is confusing

40. S. P. D. III, 19, 86

on the siege single-handed. So far went the Peshwa's desire for revenge that he despatched secret agents to the Sidi Commandant encouraging him in his resistance against the Pratinidhi.⁴¹

Mahadik had been repeatedly advised to refuse any kind of assistance to the Pratinidhi and to withdraw from the scene of action, should the latter persist in seeking his collaboration. The Naik made plain his attitude and advised Row to proceed against Anjanwal and not hamper him at Gowal. The Pratinidhi well aware of his own inability against the enemy, set aside the Naik's plan and persisted in joint action against both places and occupying them in the name of the Maharaja. The Naik was bound by his instructions and had no other course left than to march back his men to Suvarnadurg.

Shreeniwas Rao Pratinidhi who ever prided himself on his skill in diplomacy, invited the Sidi Commandant of Gowal Sidi Sat⁴² to a personal meeting (14th July) and advised him to accept the Maharaja's service when he would be reinstated in his command. Sidi Sat pretended to be anxious to take the Raja's service which he was prevented from doing for fear of Angria, and desired that as the first preliminary the Angrian force should be withdrawn from its threatening position. The Naik had already prepared to abandon the siege; his march back was hastened by the Pratinidhi anxious to win the Sidi to his cause. When his condition for surrendering was thus automatically fulfilled, Sidi Sat showed his fangs. He declined to go to Satara to make his submission to the Raja, and said that he would deliver the place after four months, thereby making it plain that he was bidding his time.⁴³ Row at last realised that he had been duped and prepared for laying siege to the place.

Reinforcements were called from Vishalgarh, Row's native fort, and arrived at Chiplun on the 30th July and on the very day of their arrival successfully assaulted one of the Sidi's outposts. The news was carried to the Pratinidhi at Parashuram who ordered his entire force to attack the place from the northern side. His troops crossed the creek, and went right up to the ditch encircling the fort on the north. Here they were furiously counter-attacked by the Sidi's garrison and driven back, compelled to abandon their new position and to retire to disorder. Heavy rains swelled the creek and added to the miseries of the defeated force.⁴⁴ The Pratinidhi reported his plight to the Maharaja beseeching him to aid him with fresh troops and directly charging the Peshwa and the Angrian chiefs⁴⁵ to their intrigues.

Row's further progress being impeded for want of a fleet, he approached Sambhaji Angria, the admiral's brother to aid him with his squadron and called further reinforcements from the Raja.⁴⁶ While the Marathas were awaiting relief, the Sidi on the 5th August once more led his men and

41. S. P. D. XXXIII, 21

42. Rajwade III 330.

43. S. P. D. XXXIII, 69

44. Ibid. III, 38, 45

45. Ibid. .. 39, 98

46. Ibid. .. 45

delivered another surprise attack on the outpost stationed near the mouth of the creek. Tombat and Amolik and about twenty-five men were cut down, the rest retiring to the main camp with the loss of their colours and drums.⁴⁷

The Pratinidhi now pressed forward his negotiations with Sambhaji Angria agreeing to whatever demands the latter chose to make for his support. While the negotiations were yet under discussion the High Admiral died; Sambhaji Angria abandoning the negotiations proceeded to Kolaba to take the command of the fleet. Row apprehending that Anjanwal would be the grave of his reputation made a last desperate attempt to take the place. He threatened to lay waste Angria's territory near Suwarnadurga if the Angrian force should still persist in its policy of obstruction. On the 23rd September Row scored a small success over the Sidi when the latter attempted another lightening raid on the Maratha lines. The point where the attack was delivered, was held by Chavan's veteran troops. As the Sidi's infantry sallied forth crossing the ditch they were overpowered by Maratha horse and beat a retreat to the castle.⁴⁸

The final general attack on Gowalkot came on the 5th October, Friday morning, early at dawn. Yasaji Gaikwad Dhanaji Thorat, Sidoji Barge and the Guzarat troops crossed the north trench and marching to the left attacked the Sidi's first outpost. As they advanced, the fort opened on the party a murderous fire. Another party under Row's brother and Baburao Karhadkar had advanced from the right. Before the two could join in an attack on the main gate, five ships of the Sidi landed at Kasi Bandar a party of desperadoes and the assaulting Maratha force was caught between two fires, defeated with heavy losses and retired. The division under Himmat Bahadur and Yamani Shivdeo that was to descend upon the place from the Kalikesar hill on the west never made its appearance, and another under the Pratinidhi that had been assigned the task of holding the landing place fled at the first appearance of the Sidi's Galbats, thus enabling him to land reinforcements. The detachment under Gangadhar and Mahadaji Ghatge sent to surprise Anjanwal achieved no better results; it simply marched and countermarched.⁴⁹

Thus ended ignominiously for the Pratinidhi his campaign in the Konkan. An army of three thousand had kept the field for nearly six months without remarkable achievement to its credit. A small garrison had defied the efforts of an army six times its number by mobility, clever counter-strokes and diplomacy. By October 25th the siege was raised and the Pratinidhi was back in the capital.⁵⁰

On other fronts affairs, though not so bad, were in a condition of stalemate. We had left Angria negotiating for the neutrality of the British. Convinced that the British would not directly support the enemy and urged to activity by the frequent representations of the Peshwa to aid in his attack on Janjira from the sea, Sekhoji prepared to sail south with his fleet. Before, however, the fleet could leave Kolaba and engage the enemy, the Admiral was in throes of death. The constant exertions and the strain of the campaign told

47. S. P. D. III, 54

48. Ibid. XXXIII, 105

49. Ibid. „ 115

50. Ibid. III, 102

upon his frame and gave rise to high fever accompanied with bleeding from the nose. After a short illness for a week the Admiral expired on the 28th August, 1733⁵¹ and with his death faded all hopes of speedy victory over the Sidi. Consternation and gloom spread among Angria's garrisons and outstations. The detachment co-operating with the Peshwa at Rajpuri lost all heart for fight and showed signs of weakening. The news quickly spread to enemy quarters which heralded it with shelling of Angrian positions and destroying their outstation at Nanivali.

Still more disastrous were the effects of the Admiral's death on the Peshwa's plan of campaign. All the while he had remained chafing at the inactivity enforced on him. He saw enemy vessels prowling in and out of the creek in the rainy weather and remonstrated with Angria for the inactivity of his fleet and the act of front shown by him.⁵² When in this state of suspense messengers came from the Raja to learn from the Peshwa his views about conducting the campaign, the Peshwa had offered to leave the whole business to Angria and retire, or to remain in command and work in collaboration with Angria, while others should retire giving him a free hand.⁵³ According to him, unity of command was essential for success and the presence of three different forces working independently of each other merely frittered away resources, instead of helping the joint result. The discussions were renewed when it was apprehended that the Nizam would actively interfere in the dispute. The king desired that one of the two ministers in Konkon should be recalled to fight the new menace and asked the Peshwa about the measures he would suggest for being adopted. Angria, when pressed by the Peshwa to give his views unequivocally on the Satara proposals had promised his sincere co-operation, explaining his inability to work with the Pratinidhi whom he held utterly incompetent for the task. The Peshwa, while impressing upon the Satara authorities how very essential it was to restore unity of command, reinforce him sufficiently with infantry, and help him with money, expressed his doubts about Angria being able to hold his own against the combined fleet of the English, the Portuguese and the Sidi, not to speak of taking the offensive. He advised the Maharaja to accept overture of peace received through the Nizam if the Sidi, in addition to the conquests already in Maratha hands, was prepared to concede Anjanwal and Underi, contenting himself with the island-forts of Janjira and Padmadurga.

While in this state, the news of Sekhoji's death reached him. It had been settled between the Peshwa and the Admiral that the long-deferred attack on the rocky island was to be delivered on the closing of the monsoon. This had to be now definitely abandoned on account of the impossibility of securing the support of the navy. The Angrian fleet lay idle at Kolaba, awaiting the arrival of its new master whose relations with the Peshwa were none too friendly. Be-

51. S. P. D. III, 70-78

52. Ibid. XXXIII, 46, 49, 61. S. P. D. III, 48, 54

53. Ibid. „ 42, 43, 79. III, 43

tween Sekhoji and his successor Sambhaji had existed a long-standing feud which the latter had not the wisdom not to introduce in politics. The only policy he understood and had followed so far was to range himself on the side of his brother's enemies. As the Peshwa had shown himself partial to his brother, he was an object of particular execration to Sambhaji, as were all his brother's loyal servants, Raghunath Hari and others. Without an efficient artillery to cannonade the castle's communications and a navy to effect a complete blockade, the attack on Janjira could never succeed.

The Peshwa, of course, did not yield without a struggle. On learning of the death of Sekhoji, his first steps were to convey assurances of sympathy and encouragement to the Admiral's garrisons and outstations and to call to his presence his Diwan to hearten the Rajpuri detachment. Fresh batteries were opened against Janjira and messages were sent to the new Admiral inviting him to Rajpuri for a personal meeting. The latter, however, showed himself utterly incapable of understanding the great issues involved and put off the meeting. Starting from Gheria on 3rd September, he landed at Ratnagiri, reached Jaygarh on 5th, Suvarnadurga on 8th, at last arriving at Kolaba on 18th September.⁵⁴ On 20th arrived Balaji Mahadeo, the Peshwa's envoy, urging Sambhaji to visit his master at Rajpuri. Angria shamelessly told the envoy "his brother was a friend to the Peshwa, not he!"⁵⁵ On the 21st, the envoy wrote back to his master that Sambhaji declined visiting him just then, and frankly gave it as his opinion that hopes of securing the support of the navy were slender in view of the recent changes at the Admiralty.

To Janjira that was to be blockaded and starved was brought succour by a strong complement of English ships under Capt. Mclean. A strange spectacle was this — the English for political reasons aiding their erstwhile enemy, the Sidi, while the Angrian navy that was planning to join in the attack on the fort for three months never put in its appearance on account of the failure of the High Admiral to forget his personal animosity towards the Peshwa. A fitting commentary on Maratha politics!

The Peshwa's despatch of 27th October⁵⁶ definitely makes the end of the offensive. Bajirao put it finally to Sambhaji to define his attitude to the struggle and asked him if there was any chance of the navy co-operating with him at Janjira. With the opening of the seas, succour was pouring in Janjira from Surat, from the Portuguese, and from the English. An English fleet took up a menacing position in the Rajpuri creek. The Anjanwal and Gowalkot garrison, relieved of pressure, now prepared to embark for Janjira and the superiority in number and equipment passed to the enemy. Bajirao's pressing appeals drew from Sambhaji only formal replies.⁵⁷

54. S. P. D. XXXIII, 109

55. Ibid. .. 99, 100

56. Ibid. III, 102

57. Ibid. XXXIII, 117

The Peshwa, realising the hopelessness of the situation now gave a willing ear to the offers of the English for mediating in the dispute. The Satara Durbar was prepared for ending the war and asked the Peshwa to learn from the English the Sidi's terms, while it opened direct negotiations through its envoy Anand Rao Sumant. The preliminaries were settled, the Peshwa agreeing not to claim beyond what was then in actual possession of the invading forces.¹ Five of the Sidi's mahal and his inland fortresses passed to the Marathas.

THE RESULTS OF THE FIRST OFFENSIVE :

The Sidi was driven back to the sea ; with the exception of a small strip of territory the Marathas were masters of his land possessions ; Raygarh, the capital of the great Shivaji, was recovered ; Thal, Rewas the Sidi's out-posts in Angrian districts from which had descended roving bands to plunder villages and towns fell in Angria's hands, as also Cheul, commanding the Rewdanda creek. The Sidi's possessions dwindled to his rock islands Janjira Underi and Anjanwal and Gowalkot in the south. Abdul Rahman, the Maratha nominee, was recognised as the successor. It looked as if the back of the enemy was broken and it was a question of mere time when he would be completely liquidated. The apparent success of the Marathas, however, concealed their failure in the struggle. The nerve centres of the Sidi's power were his island-castles and his fleet. These haunts of the pirates defied all Maratha attempts of conquest and his ships continued to ride boldly on the sea. It is wrong to assume the Sidi as a great power in rivalry with the Marathas. Originally in Nizam Shahi service the Sidi Admirals had later transferred their allegiance to the Bijapur Sultans. When that kingdom fell, the Sidis became the servants of the Mughal emperor and continued to distress the Marathas. As a reward for their services, the emperor had transferred to them their Konkon conquest. The Maratha objective was absolute supremacy in their homeland and demanded destruction of all others that barred their way. The Sidis should either be vassals or be prepared for self-destruction. They chose the latter alternative, and despite heavy odds, continued to maintain a precarious independence throughout the hundred years of Maratha supremacy.

The causes of the Maratha discomfiture have been sufficiently explained in the course of the narrative and need be mentioned here but briefly. The Maratha armies were operating in a terrain with which they were not very familiar. The armies that had fought against Bangash and the Nizam consisted mainly of light cavalry, their superiority lay in their lightening marches. Avoiding action with the enemy, they literally ate up his resources, devastated his country and brought him to his knee. In Konkon there were no fertile plains to plunder, no waving fields to lay waste ; the surface of the land, cut up by ravines and creeks, forbade rapid movements of the army. The enemy lay secure in his island retreats which could yield only to an effective blockade by sea followed by blasting away the defences with heavy artillery. The besiegers lacked either of the two arms. Their loose political organisation affected all their military enter-

prises, making the consequent conquests ineffective and impermanent. A good artillery is too costly a weapon to be built up by a state divided into petty feudatory chiefships, as was the condition with the Marathas. Above all the will to triumph over difficulties, to conquer, was wanting in the commander. The Peshwa from the beginning had shown little enthusiasm for the undertaking. His able generalship could have achieved better results, had it not been hampered and thwarted by his rivals and enemies. The whole business was marked by lack of unity of command. Napoleon's maxim that one bad general is better than two ones, holds good under all conditions. The Peshwa and the Pratinidhi worked independently of each other and at times against the common objective. None had sufficient control over the navy to command its services (at strategic points) without which the campaign could never succeed. Valuable resources were frittered away against useless objectives. If death had not snatched away Sekhoji, the results might have turned out different. But let us not dwell on the might-have-beens of history.

V. G. DIGHE,

The Early Europeans in Bhagalpur

THESE pages contain a survey of the early Europeans, officials as well as non-officials, who resided in the town and district of Bhagalpur in the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first-half of the nineteenth century. With the inception of the Company's rule in Bengal by virtue of the authority bestowed upon them by the grant of the Diwani, a supervisor was appointed for Bhagalpur, with headquarters at Rajmahal in 1779. There was, in course of time, an abolition of the Naib Nazim and the inauguration of the Fouzdary and the four courts of circuits. Thus, with the introduction of the new administrative system a number of Europeans came and settled in the district, both in their public and private capacities.

The materials of this paper have been gathered from the official records preserved in the archive of the District Officer, Bhagalpur. The European cemetery at Bhagalpur has yielded fresh informations from the old and dilapidated cenotaphs.

This paper furnishes an account of about four hundred and twelve Europeans, and this number includes mostly males and a few females, and civil, ecclesiastical and military officials and the non-official Britishers and the continentals living in the city and the district of Bhagalpur. An account of the indigo planters has been purposely excluded from these pages inasmuch as the subject has been discussed in paper entitled "An Account of the Indigo Planters at Bhagalpur" and read at the thirteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore in the cold weather of 1937. The non-officials referred to in this paper were engaged in some independent calling, such as trade, and watchmaking, or employed in private concerns of official Europeans or the recipients of Government pensions and bounties as a retired Government civil or military official.

(A)

1. Abercromby, W. A. (Company)—Bhagalpur, 1846.
2. Ablett, Thomas—Overseer, Department of Public Works, Bhagalpur, 1831.
3. Adair, Robert—Collector of Bhagalpur, 1786.
4. Aguilar, Lieut.-Col. G.D.—Regulating Officer, Bhagalpur, 1835.
5. Alexander, J.—Acting Special Deputy Collector, Bhagalpur, 1838.
6. Alexander, W. S.—Judge, Bhagalpur, 1847.
7. Allan, James—Civil Assistant Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1847.
8. Alldin, Lieut.-Col. Commandant J. J.—Regulating Officer, Invalid Establishment, Bhagalpur, 1831 : died at Bhagalpur, October, 1834.
9. Anderson, James—resident of Bhagalpur, 1807.

10. Anderson, P.—resident of Monghyr, 1821.
11. Antisell, Sergeant C.—of Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1836.
12. Antonio, L. Pere—an Italian, held 5 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1811.
13. Armstrong, W.—Magistrate of Bhagalpur, 1805: held in 1808, 50 bighas of land with a house and a garden at Monghyr.
14. Arnold, Charles—Head Writer, Collector's Department, Bhagalpur, 1817.
- 14(a). Ashe, St. George—Ensign, Bhagalpur died November, 1810.
15. Auvergne, Cap. P. D.—Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, 1803.

(B)

16. Buddley, Cap. W. C.—Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, 1816.
17. Bagge, H. C. Officiating Deputy Collector, Bhagalpur, 1837.
18. Bailey—Pension Establishment, Monghyr, 1827.
19. Baillie, Cap. Robert—of the 4th Regiment, Berhampur: an invalid officer living at Bhagalpur, 1783.
20. Balfour, Arthur—of 19th Regiment, Monghyr, an invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.
21. Balfour, H.—Assistant Collector, Bhagalpur, 1850.
22. Barlow, E. F.—Collector of Bhagalpur: September, 1831—February, 1831: First Assistant to Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1831.
23. Barlow, James—Superintendent of the Collections of Rajmahal, Bhagalpur and Monghyr, September, 1774.
24. Barlow, Cap. M.—H. M.'s 3rd Regiment Buffs, Bhagalpur, 1827.
25. Barlow, R. Wellesley—Officiating Magistrate of Bhagalpur, 1825 and 1829. Magistrate, June, 1826. Member, Committee of Records, Bhagalpur, 1827. Held 13 bighas of land with a house at Monghyr (Date of authority, 17 July, 1793).
26. Bartley, Colonel—H. M.'s 49th Foot, Monghyr, 1831.
- 26(a). Bateman, Col. John—Died at Bhagalpur, 13 July, 1799.
27. Battye, G. W.—Collector of Bhagalpur, April, 1844—April, 1845.
- 27(a). Battye, John—Died at Bhagalpur, 20 October, 1819.
28. Battye, John—Collector of Bhagalpur, 1818-1819.
29. Baugh, Lieut.—Monghyr, 1810.
30. Bayley, W. T.—Pensioner, Monghyr, 1825.
31. Beadon, C.—Collector of Bhagalpur, 1842-44. Supdt. of Khas Mahals, Bhagalpur, 1839.
32. Beauchamp, Lieut.-Col. G.—Pension Establishment, Monghyr, 1831.
33. Beckett, M. J.—held lands in Monghyr, 1818.
34. Bell, Sergeant R. N.—Commissariat Agent, Monghyr, 1831.
35. Bennett, Cap. Hector—Commandant at Monghyr, 1793.
36. Bennett, F.—Acting Steam Agent, Bhagalpur, 1848.
37. Benson, Cap. G.—Adjutant and Commandant, Monghyr, 1805.
38. Berah, Cap.—56th Regiment Native Infantry, 1841.
39. Billon, Edward—Merchant, Monghyr, 1831.

40. Bird, Lieut.-Col. J.—Commanding Detachment of Invalids, at Monghyr, 1818.
41. Blair, Cap.—3rd Local Horse, Bhagalpur, 1824.
42. Blair, Cap. Thomas—6th Regiment, Chunar: an invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.
43. Blunt, William—Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, Bhagalpur, 1812.
44. Blunt, Sir, C. R. (Bart.)—Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1808.
45. Bonsfield, S. G.—Postmaster, Bhagalpur, 1849.
46. Bontin, Cap. J.—1st Light Cavalry, Bhagalpur, 1825.
- 46(a). Bowen, N. Owen—Bhagalpur, died 1790.
47. Brannon, P.—Pension Establishment, Monghyr, 1822.
48. Briggs, R.—Bhagalpur, 1816.
49. Brisco, Major General—Commanding at Monghyr, 1798.
50. Brett, F. H.—Assistant Surgeon Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1827.
51. Brodhurst, W. H.—officiating Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1845.
52. Brown, G. F.—officiating Commissioner of Revenue, Bhagalpur, 1837 : Commissioner of Revenue, 1846.
53. Brown, Major General T.—Monghyr, 1822.
54. Browne, Cap. James—Collector of Rajmahal, 1782.
55. Brown, Cap.—Commanding H. M.'s 16th Foot, Bhagalpur, 1833.
56. Browne, J.—Assistant Surgeon, Monghyr, 1807.
- 56(a). Browne, Ulyses—Brevet Captain in service of E. I. Company, Bhagalpur, 1798.
57. Bryant, W.—River Merchant, Bhagalpur, 1845.
58. Buchanon, Dr. F.—Monghyr, 1811.
59. Buckland, C. T.—Deputy Collector, Bhagalpur, 1850.
60. Bukett, J.—resident of Monghyr, 1804.
61. Buncombe, Lieut. J. 14th Regiment N. I., Monghyr, 1825.
62. Bunny, Edward—Bhagalpur, 1814.
63. Burrington, Lieut.-Col.—Commanding at Monghyr, 1793.

(C)

64. Caesar, The Rev. Julius (M.A.)—Roman Catholic Missionary, Bhagalpur, 1827.
65. Cambell, Lieut.-Col.—A.—9th Lancers, Monghyr, 1842.
66. Campbell, J.G.—Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, 1842-47.
67. Cameron, Lieut.-Col. A.—H. M.'s 3rd Buff's, Bhagalpur, 1831.
68. Campbell, Major C.—2nd Battalion, 4th Regiment N. I., Bhagalpur, 1816.
69. Campbell, J. G.—Collector of Bhagalpur, 1847.
70. Campognollah, Augustus—Italian Missionary, Bhagalpur, 1800.
71. Canham, G.—Bhagalpur, 1842.
72. Cariage, Cap. J.—Commanding at Monghyr, 1807.
73. Carleton, Lieut. C. W.—Pension Establishment, Monghyr, 1827.
74. Carnegy, Major A.—15th Regiment, N. I. Bhagalpur, 1835.

75. Carruthers, Lieut. J.—Assistant to the Regulating Officer, Jagirdar's Invalid Establishment, 1798. He contributed £35 in support of His Majesty's Govt. in Europe in 1798.
76. Catania, George—Bhagalpur, 1827.
77. Caufield, Lieut. J. P.—Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1849.
78. Chalmer, R. W. A.—held 50 bighas of land with a house and garden at Bhagalpur (date of authority, January, 1795): Magistrate of Bhagalpur, 1821: Member, Committee of Records, 1822.
79. Chapman, Charles—Collector of Bhagalpur, 1784.
80. Chapman, John—resident of Monghyr 1798: contributed £6 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe (1798).
81. Clark, Major Edward—35th Regiment, Chunar: an invalid officer residing at Bhagalpur, 1783.
82. Clarke, James—Assistant Surgeon, Monghyr, 1827: held one bigha of land with a bungalow at Monghyr.
83. Clarkson, R.—First class Sub-Assistant Great Trigonometrical Survey (1845), Bhagalpur.
84. Cleveland, Augustus—Collector, Bhagalpur, 1775-84: he brought about the pacification of the lawless and turbulent hill tribes of the jungle terry of Rajmahal: contributed Rs. 500/- for relief of the poor at Madras, October, 1783.
85. Clode, Major William—33rd Regiment Barrackpur: an invalid officer residing at Bhagalpur, 1783.
86. Cockerell, Charles—Assistant to Cleveland (No. 84) 1783: Collector of Bhagalpur, 1784: contributed Rs. 400/- for poor relief, Madras, October, 1782.
87. Collins, G.—Collector of Bhagalpur, 1819-20.
88. Colnett, Cap. J.R. Assistant Barrack Master 16th Division, Bhagalpur, 1827.
89. Cook, William—9th Regiment, Futyghur: an invalid officer, Bhagalpur, 1783.
90. Coventry, Major C.—32nd Regiment, N. I., Rajmahal, 1841.
91. Coxe, Cap. Digby—Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1827.
92. Cracklow, Lieut. G.—Assistant Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, 1822.
93. Crawford, Major James—Light Infantry, Ramghur: an invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.
94. Christian, John—a Polish trader, Bhagalpur, 1798.
- 94(a). Christian, Rev. Thomas—Minister and Missionary attached to incorporated society for propagation of gospel—died at Bhagalpur, December, 1827.
95. Cruttendon, Cap. George—Assistant to the Regulating officer of the Native Jagirdar's Establishment, Bhagalpur: contributed £35 in support of His Majesty's Govt. in Europe (1798).
96. Cummings, Cap. James—10th Regiment Native Infantry: died at Bhagalpur, June, 1806.
97. Cunliffe, D.—Deputy Collector, Monghyr, 1841.

(D)

- 97(a). D'abbadie, Charles—died, Bhagalpur, August, 1836.
- 97(b). D'apres, John George—died at Bhagalpur, July, 1851.
98. David—A french Cook, Bhagalpur, 1796.
99. Davidson, Major J.—died at Monghyr, August, 1802.
100. Davies, Lieut. H. C.—Incharge Store boats in the river, Bhagalpur, 1807.
101. Davis, S.—Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, 1789.
102. Deane, H. W.—Judicial Officer, Bhagalpur, 1830. Assistant to the Commissioner, Bhagalpur, 1831.
103. Dent, T. R.—a resident of Monghyr, 1803.
104. Derogeo, H.—Proprietor of mahals Mahadeopur and Salimpur ulal in pargana Colgong with the jummas of Rs. 1312-15-2 and Rs. 18-15-9 respectively.
105. Deroza, A. F.—Bhagalpur, 1809.
106. Dessa, J. P.—uncovenanged Deputy Collector, Monghyr, 1837.
107. Dick, A.—held land with a house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1816.
108. Dickinson, George—born 1762: Collector, Bhagalpur 1793-1801: held at Bhagalpur 281 bighas of land with a house, garden and office, 1803: this land was originally purchased by Cleveland (no. 84) and after his death, Cleveland's executor Cockerell (86) sold it to C. Chapman (no. 79); Chapman sold it to Adair (no. 3), Adair to Seton (no. 292) and Seton to Dickson (no. 108). Dickinson contributed £125 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe, 1798, died at Bhagalpur, April, 1802.
- 108(a). Dow, Alexander—Lieut.-Col. in Hon'ble Company Service: died, Bhagalpur., 31 July, 1779: age 43 years.
- 108(b). Draper, James—Died at Bhagalpur, May, 1831: age 22 years.
109. Drummond, I. E. (Hon'ble)—Assistant Deputy Collector, Monghyr, 1835: also Assistant in charge of pargana Furkeya, 1835.
110. D'souza, Bonafice John—A writer, Invalid Establishment, Bhagalpur: appointed on December, 1793 on pay Rs. 50/-: a writer of the Bhagalpur Collectorate, 1804, pay Rs. 70/-.
111. Dunbar, J.—Collector, Bhagalpur, July 1835—November 1836 and from December 1836—April 1837.
112. Duncan, Major William—15th Regiment, Barrackpur: an invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.
113. Dunn, Cap. William—died at Monghyr, June, 1802.
- 113(a). Dunsford, H. F.—Bengal army, Bhagalpur, 1859.
- 113(b). Dussmier, P. L. Ernest—died at Bhagalpur, 1846.
115. Earle, Lieut.—Invalid Establishment, 1833.
116. Ellerker, Major General Edward—contributed in 1798 sicca Rs. 800/- in support of His Majesty's Government: Commandant of the garrison at Monghyr, 1802: Date of death 15 November, 1802: interred at Bhagalpur, 16 November, 1802: held 2 bighas of land at Monghyr, 1803: he occupied the rocky hill called Peer Pahar

on which a bungalow was built by subscription : died at Bhagalpur, Nov., 1802.

117. Elliot, George—died at Bhagalpur, October, 1794.
- 117(a). Erskine, J. D.—Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, 1804.
118. Eton, J. D.—Monghyr, 1827.
119. Evison, Cap. S.—Commander of Steam Vessel "Swenton", Monghyr, 1835.
120. Ewing, J.—Acting Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1811 : Acting Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1812 : held in 1814, 13 bighas of land with a house at Monghyr.

(F)

121. Farley, Lieut.—2nd Battalion Native Invalids, Monghyr, 1827.
- 121(a). Farrie, Mathew—in the employ of J. Hay (no. 151) : resident of Bhagalpur since 1794.
122. Ferguson, Lieut. J.—Bhagalpur, 1804.
- 122(a). Fitzpatrick, John—died at Bhagalpur, 1871.
123. Fley, George—German watchmaker, Bhagalpur, 1795.
124. Flower, Lieut. S.—2nd Company, 25th Regiment, Native Invalids, Jamalpur, 1830 : 1st Company 25th Regiment, Gauhati, 1831.
125. Fombelle, John—Judge and Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1793 : Register of Nizamat Adalat, 1793 : Magistrate of Bhagalpur in charge of Collections, 1801 : held 34 bighas of land at Monghyr, 1803.
126. Francis, Col. R.—Monghyr, 1822.
127. Francklin, Lieut.-Col. W.—Regulating Officer, Bhagalpur, 1812 : held lands at Bhagalpur, 1825.
- 127(a). Fraser, Crichton—Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1795.
128. Fraser, Lieut.—Cavalry Line, Bhagalpur, 1825 : Invalid Establishment, Monghyr, 1833.
- 128(a). Fraser, Rev. William—Chaplain, Bhagalpur, 1826.
129. Freeman, J.—Bhagalpur, 1836.
130. French, Lieut. Col. F.—Commanding European Invalids, Monghyr, 1816.
131. Farquhurson, Lieut. A.—Officiating Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, 1827, in charge of Khasmahala, Bhagalpur, 1837.

(G)

132. Gardner, Col. W. L.—Monghyr, 1824.
133. Garner, Cap. T.—Assistant to the Regulating officer, Bhagalpur, 1812 : held 60 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1814.
134. Garstin, E.—Ensign, Monghyr, 1815.
- 134(a). Garstin, Henry—Captain, 10th Regiment Light Cavalry, died at Bhagalpur, 1832.
- 134(b). Gilberton, Cap. William—43 Regiment Bengal Light Infantry : died at Bhagalpur, January, 1852.
- 134(c). Gillman, Francis Ann—died at Bhagalpur, 1819.

135. Gilpin, Major Martin—20th Regiment, Cawnpur: invalid officer residing at Bhagalpur, 1783.
136. Glass, John—Assistant Surgeon, Invalid Establishment, Bhagalpur, 1793: Agent and contractor for building the jail at Bhagalpur, 1795: Surgeon of Bhagalpur; 1805—pay Rs. 239-3-10. He died at Bhagalpur, August, 1822. His Cenotaph carries the following inscription—"Few Europeans were more respected by the native than Dr. Glass. He was looked up to by them as their common father. To the full knowledge of his profession he added gentleness and mildness of manner that made him much beloved . . ."
- 136(a). Glass, Thomas—died at Bhagalpur, August, 1830.
137. Goldie, Cap. A.—Superintendent and Pay Master, Invalids, Monghyr, 1831.
- 137(a). Gracia, Manuel—a Portuguese: died at Bhagalpur, 1847.
138. Graham, Cap. J.—Superintendent of the school for the instruction of children of the hill Sepoys, Bhagalpur, 1825: Commanding Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1827.
139. Grant, Charles—resident of Bhagalpur, 1782: contributed Rs. 250/- for poor relief Madras, October, 1782.
140. Grant, L. L.—Monghyr, 1831.
141. Grant, Major Lewis—10th Regiment, Futehgurh: invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.
142. Griffin, Cap. J. P.—officiating Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, 1815: Superintendent Oil and Cloth Manufacture, Monghyr, 1817: held 34 bighas of land with bunglow at Monghyr (dated of authority 25 July, 1795).

(H)

143. Hamilton, Sir F. (Bart.)—Collector of Bhagalpur, 1805-16: Collector of Revenues, 1817.
- 143(a). Hamilton, Marian Frances—Wife of Sir Frederic, Bhagalpur.
144. Hamilton, H. C.—Assistant Deputy Collector, Monghyr, 1822: Deputy Post Master, Monghyr, 1832: Collector of Bhagalpur, May, 1835—July, 1835: Officer in Charge of Khas mahals, Monghyr, 1835.
145. Harding, C.—Sessions Judge, Bhagalpur, 1832: Commissioner of Revenue, Bhagalpur, 1835.
146. Hardy, Major Elaxendar—An invalid officer, Bhagalpur, 1783: Commanding at Patna.
147. Harrington, J.—Magistrate of Bhagalpur, 1826: Officiating Judge of the court of circuit for the Division of Murshidabad, 1826: Revenue Member, Bhagalpur, 1826: held 50 bighas of land at Bhagalpur.
148. Hartwell, G.—Acting Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1809.
149. Harwood William—Supervisor Rajmahal, 1772.
150. Hasilgrave, Sergeant J.—Pensioner, Monghyr, 1831.
151. Hay, John—Free merchant, 1814: held lands at Bhagalpur and Colgong: a portion of his land at Colgong was occupied by a

- barren hill on the summit of which a small house was erected. It was held on the name of J. Grant who made it over to Hay.
152. Hawkshaw, George—died at Monghyr, Aug., 1803.
 153. Heathcote, Major W.—2nd Battalion, 14th Regiment, Bhagalpur, 1818: 1st Grenadier Battalion, Bhagalpur, 1824.
 154. Hendry, Sergeant M.—Overseer, Barrack Department, Monghyr, 1827.
 155. Hennessy, Major A.—Commanding detachment, Bhagalpur, 1809.
 156. Hervery, Cap. A.—Sub-Assistant Commissariat General, Bhagalpur, 1820.
 157. Hickman, Cap. J. P.—Deputy Post Master, Monghyr, 1930, and also Fort Adjutant: Fort Adjutant, Allahabad, 1832.
 158. Higgins, G.—resident of Monghyr, 1809.
 - 158(a). Hill, John—Bhagalpur, 1782: contributed Rs. 400 for poor relief, Madras, 1782.
 - 158(b). Hinde, Francis—Assistant Chaplain, Bhagalpur, 1853.
 159. Hogg, J. J.—Surgeon, Monghyr, 1809: held land with bungalow at Monghyr,
 160. Hook, Lieut.-Col.—16th Regiment Foot, Sakrigully, 1833.
 161. Howe, H. G. A.—Conductor of Ordnance, Monghyr, 1796.
 162. Howatson, T.—Deputy Commissary of Ordnance, Invalid Establishment, Monghyr, 1833.
 163. Hume, Lieut.—in charge of Store boats, Bhagalpur, 1804.
 - 163(a). Hume, William—died at Bhagalpur, August, 1807.
 164. Hunter, John—Acting Assistant Registrar, Bhagalpur, 1804: Assistant to the Judge and Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1805: Sergeant Major, Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1807: purchased from C. L. Trower 30 bighas of land at Bhagalpur.
 - 164(a). Hurter, Frederick—Missionary, Bhagalpur, 1849.
 165. Hutchinson, Lieut. Col. Hohn—Superintending officer, Invalid thanas (1794) and Hill Jummas (1795): made Lieut. Col. in 1798: contributed £200 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe, 1798: held 60 bighas of land at Bhagalpur and 7 bighas at Colgong, 1803: Died at Bhagalpur, May, 1801: age 50.*
 166. Hyde, Lieut. G.—Commanding at Monghyr, 1813.

(I)

167. Innes, Dr. J. (M.D.)—Civil Assistant Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1827: Civil Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1834: Deputy Postmaster, Bhagalpur, 1831: First Assistant Sadder Amin, Bhagalpur, 1831.

(J)

168. Jacob, V.—Bhagalpur, 1825.
169. Jackson, C. C.—Collector of Bhagalpur, February, 1835—May, 1835.

* His tomb-stone reads thus—"His constitution was destroyed by unwearied exertions for the benefit and prosperity of old soldiers and their families".

170. Jackson, R.—Overseer, 16th Division Barrack Department, Bhagalpur, 1821.
171. Jackson, W. B.—Acting Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1823 : Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, June, 1824 : Acting Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1827.
172. Jaffray, Cap. Thomas—resident of Monghyr, 1798 : contributed £500 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe (1798).
173. James, H. F.—Collector of Bhagalpur, April, 1877 to January, 1842 and June, 1842 to January, 1843.
174. Johnson, A.—held about 49 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur. (Date of authority February, 1793 and October, 1813).
175. Johnson, P.—Registrar, Record Office, Bhagalpur, 1826.
176. Johnson Richard—Bhagalpur, 1782 : contributed Rs. 500/- for relief of the poor at Madras, October, 1782.

(K)

177. Keelan, J.—Subconductor military stores, Bhagalpur, 1831.
178. Kennaway, W. R.—Assistant to the Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1795.
179. Kennedy, G. M.—Assistant Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1822.

(L)

180. Lachland, Cap. R.—17th Foot, Bhagalpur, 1819.
181. Laing, J. B.—Acting Collector of Bhagalpur, 1795.
- 181(a). Landale, J. O.—Born at Scotland : died at Bhagalpur, 1884.
- 181(b). Landale, Maria Caroline, wife of J. O. Landale—died at Bhagalpur, 1855.
182. Landeg, Cap.—Monghyr, 1808.
183. Lane, Major William—7th Regiment, Chunar : invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.
184. Lang, A.—officiating Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1835 : Deputy Postmaster, Monghyr, 1836.
185. Lantour, E. F.—officiating Collector, Bhagalpur, 1844 : died at Bhagalpur, October, 1845.
186. Lary, Major William M.—34th Regiment, Cawnpur : an invalid officer, Bhagalpur, 1783.
187. Lavage, Cap.—27th Regiment, N. I., Bhagalpur, 1826.
- 187(a). Leach, Joanas—Head Master, Bhagalpur Mission School : died July, 1871.
188. Leewarner, F.—Commissioner of Circuit 12th Division, Monghyr, 1832.
189. Le Pere Julian (Le Pere Antonio)—an Italian Missionary of the order of Confuscious, Bhagalpur, 1804 : held 5 bighas of land at Bhagalpur.
- 189(a). Leverll, John Glass—Died at Bhagalpur, September, 1846.
190. Little John, Major P.—Commanding Officer, Corps. of Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1806 : held 60 bighas of land with house and garden, 1816.
- 190(a). LeLievre, Edward—Executive Engineer, died at Bhagalpur, 1880.

191. Loch, George—Collector, Bhagalpur, November, 1848—December, 1851.
192. Lodge, Henry, Y.—Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1793.
193. Longbaur, Michael—a Prussian musician under Dickson (No. 108), 1798.
194. Lopes, D. P.—Bhagalpur, 1809.
195. Lopez, Felix—owner of a considerable estate at Bhagalpur, 1870.
196. Lowther, W.—Bhagalpur, 1819.
197. Lucas, Major Richard—32nd Regiment, Buragong: an invalid officer, Bhagalpur, 1783.
198. Luke, W.—Assistant Collector Bhagalpur, December, 1832—March, 1833 and November, 1833—July, 1834.
199. Lumsdaine, Major—9th Regiment, Chunar: an invalid officer, Bhagalpur, 1783.
200. Lutterloh, H. E.—Register and Assistant Judge, Diwani Adalat, Bhagalpur, 1794: held 50 bighas of land at Bhagalpur with bunglow which he purchased from late Register Smith, 1795.

(M)

201. Maccabe, John—Deputy Commissary of Ordnance, Monghyr, 1795.
- 201(a). Macellum, Rev. John—Bhagalpur, 1846.
- 201(b). Macclesfield, Henry—Sergeant Major His Majesty's Local Infantry, Bhagalpur: died January 1581.
202. Macdonald, Major—8th Regiment, Cawnpur: invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.
203. Macdonald, J.—Bhagalpur, 1808.
204. Mac Farlan, D.—Acting Register and Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1819.
205. MacGregor, General J. M.—Commanding Officer, Fort Monghyr, 1815: Major General, 1817.
206. MacKintosh, Eliza (Mrs.)—Monghyr, 1835.
207. MacKintosh, Lieut. E.—2nd Battalion Native Invalids, Monghyr, 1822.
208. Macra, J. M.—Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1823.
209. MacKey, J.—Bhagalpur, 1827, Baugh Chapra Factory, Monghyr, 1830.
210. Macleod, D. F.—Assistant Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1830.
211. Macra, J.—Garrison Surgeon, Monghyr, 1831.
212. Maddock, Lieut. Col.—10th Regiment N. I., Bhagalpur, 1834.
213. Madee, Joseph—in employ of Cleveland (No. 84), 1783.
214. Maling, C. S.—Register, Diwani Adalat, 1799: 1st Assistant Fouzdary Adalat: Acting Magistrate, Purneah, 1803: held 50 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1803; This land was originally obtained by Lutterloh (No. 200) and on his demise transferred by sale to Maling.
215. Manley, Cap. N.—Commanding Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1820.
216. Marley—Bhagalpur, 1925.
217. Marrant—Conductor of Ordnance, 1798: contributed Sicca Rs. 80/- in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe.

218. Marshall, Major W. H.—Commanding Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1817 : held land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1818 (date of authority, October, 1813).
- 218(a). Masson, John Macdongall—died at Bhagalpur, August, 1848.
219. Mathews, Major—Commanding Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1817 : held land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1818 (date of authority, October, 1813).
220. Mc.namara, Lieut.-Col.—Monghyr, 1820.
- 220(a). Mc Queen, Major T. K.—45 Regiment N. I., died at Bhagalpur, 1840.
221. Meredyth, Cap. A. T.—1st Battalion 9th Regiment N. I., Bhagalpur, 1814.
222. Middleton, Lieut. W.—Adjutant and Quarter Master, 16th Regiment N. I., Bhagalpur, 1809.
223. Millet, D.—held land with house at Monghyr, 1821.
224. Millet, H.—Acting Magistrate, Monghyr, 1821 : held land with bungalow at Monghyr.
225. Mitchard, John—in employ of Cleveland (No. 84), 1783.
226. Monye, W. J.—officiating Collector, Bhagalpur, 1869.
227. Montgomerie, Cap. A.—Commanding Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1821 : possessed land with house at Bhagalpur.
228. Moore, D. R.—Superintendent Vaccine Inoculation, Monghyr, 1804.
229. Moore, Ross—Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1803 : held one bigha of land at Bhagalpur.
230. Mordant, Thomas—Bhagalpur, 1795.
231. Mordaunt, Cap.—Bhagalpur, 1782 : contributed Rs. 300/- for poor relief at Madras, October, 1782.
232. Moore, Rev. W.—Monghyr, 1834.
- 232(a). Morrel, H.—Bhagalpur, 1844.
233. Morris, Cap. 49th Foot, Monghyr, 1831.
234. Morshead, Lieut.—Adjutant Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1825.
235. Moseby, Cap. G. N.—Timber Agent, Nathpore, 1827.
236. Monatt, Lieut. C.—Engineer in charge of Jail construction Bhagalpur, 1795.
237. Murchison, K.—Bhagalpur, 1782 : contributed Rs. 300/- for poor relief, Madras, October, 1782.
- 237(a). Murchison, Simon—of Colgong : died at Bhagalpur, 21st August, 1815.

(N)

238. Neubolt, Ensign G.—Sub-Assistant Commissary General in charge of the office of Timber Agency, Bhagalpur, 1835.
239. Nickoll, Major James—31st Regiment, Cawnpur : an invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.
240. Nisbet, R. P.—Member, Committee of Records, Bhagalpur, 1827 : held 50 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1828.
- 240(a). Nix, Joseph—Died at Bhagalpur, February, 1814.

241. Nugent, Lieut. G.—Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, 1828: Agent, 2nd Division Army clothing, 1810.

(O)

242. O'Brien, Cap.—His Majesty's 49th Regiment, Bhagalpur, 1834.
 243. Ogilvie, A.—Collector, Bhagalpur, September, 1848—November, 1848.
 244. O'Halloran, Mrs.—Bhagalpur, 1803.
 245. Oldham, Lieut. J. O.—Bhagalpur, 1827.
 246. Ormsby, W. C.—Ensign, 2nd Light Infantry Battalion, Bhagalpur, 1825.
 247. Oyley, W. H. D.—Officiating Collector, Bhagalpur, 1866-67.
 248. O'neale, Owen—An Irishman, in the employ of Major Hutchinson (No. 165), 1795.

(P)

249. Page, Cap. H. E.—Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, 1819: Commissariat Agent, Monghyr, 1826.
 250. Page, Mrs. Jane—Monghyr, 1830.
 251. Palmer, Col. W. G.—Commanding at Monghyr, 1803, 2nd Battalion, 25th Regiment Native Infantry, Bhagalpur, 1812.
 252. Parrey, Edward—Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1815: held 50 bighas of land at Bhagalpur.
 253. Parr, Mrs. Jane—Soorajegurah, died 3 July, 1803.
 254. Paternoster—Monghyr, 1831.
 255. Patterson, William—in the service of Cleveland (No. 84), 1783.
 256. Pattle, Cap. W.—Commanding Left Wing, 1st Light Cavalry, Bhagalpur, 1825.
 257. Pellow, Edward—Bhagalpur, 1830.
 258. Pennington, Lieut. H.—Monghyr, 1824.
 258(a). Pinard, A. C.—died, Bhagalpur, August, 1806.
 258(b). Pionett, Sergeant J.—Bhagalpur, 1859.
 259. Pontet, J.—uncovenanted Deputy Collector, Monghyr, 1827.
 260. Plowden, George, C.—2nd Assistant to the Magistrate: Collector, Bhagalpur, November, 1831—December, 1831.
 261. Pereira, L. F.—Bhagalpur, 1807.
 262. Plummer, Lieut. Col. James—2nd Battalion, 2nd Regiment, N. I., Bhagalpur, 1811.
 263. Pope, A.—Barrack Master, 16th Division, Bhagalpur, 1821.
 264. Prickett, The Rev. R.—District Chaplain, Bhagalpur, 1831.
 265. Pringle, D.—Acting Registrar, Diwani Adalat, 1827: Secretary, Committee of Records, Bhagalpur, 1828.

(Q)

266. Quinan—Conductor of Ordnance, Bhagalpur, 1827.

(R)

267. Raikes, R. C.—Collector, Bhagalpur, April, 1845—July, 1845.
 267(a). Ratton, Cap. H. R.—17th N. I., Bhagalpur: died 13 November, 1800.
 268. Ravenshaw, C. A.—Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Bhagalpur, June, 1842.
 269. Rea, Sergeant Major—Commissariat Agent, Monghyr, 1830.
 270. Read, F. E.—Head Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1834: Collector, Bhagalpur, November, 1834—February, 1835.
 271. Reynold, Mrs.—Monghyr, 1833.
 272. Rickets, M.—Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, 1816.
 273. Robe, Lieut. W. J. J.—Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1825.
 274. Roberts, William—30th Regiment, Chunar: an invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.
 275. Robertson, J.—Assistant Surgeon, His Majesty's Buffs, Bhagalpur, 1827.
 275(a). Robinson, Cap. Edward—Engineer: died at Bhagalpur, 1781.
 275(b). Robinson, John—Lieut. Bengal Artillery: died at Bhagalpur, September, 1845.
 276. Roget, John—native of Minorca: servant to General Ellerker (No. 116).
 277. Ross, Thomas—Bhagalpur, 1830.
 278. Routledge, Major F.—1st Battalion 3rd Regiment N. I., Bhagalpur, 1804.
 279. Russell, C. D.—Collector of Bhagalpur, 3 July, 1845–11, February, 1847.
 280. Russell, H. P.—Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1826: also indigo manufacturer, Rajmahal, 1822.
 281. Ryan, Lieut Charles—Bhagalpur, 1806.

(S)

282. Sadds, John—in the employ of Dr. Glass (No. 136), 1798.
 283. Saers, A.—Monghyr, 1803.
 284. Sage, J. W.—Collector of Bhagalpur, July, 1821—March, 1822.
 285. Salmon, Cap. W. B.—18th Division N. I., Monghyr, 1817: 2nd Battalion, 18th Division, Cuttuck, 1818: 72 N. I., Monghyr, 1831.
 286. Sanford, John—Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1809: held land with house and garden at Bhagalpur.
 286(a). Sandys, Teignmouth—of Bengal Civil Service, Bhagalpur, 1879.
 286(b). Sandys, Anna Elizabeth—wife of Teignmouth: died at Bhagalpur, June, 1879: age 70.
 287. Sault—Conductor of Ordnance, Bhagalpur, 1827.
 288. Savary, Lieut. J. T.—Light Company, 24th Regiment, Bhagalpur, 1827.
 289. Scott, Cap. Patrick—Adjutant to the Native Invalids, Monghyr, 1795: in 1798 contributed Sicca Rs. 400/- in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe: in 1800, he possessed 2 bighas of land at Monghyr with a house which was originally built by General Goddard.

290. Scott, Cap. George—Monghyr, 1810.
291. Scott, Cap. P.—held land at Monghyr, 1818.
292. Seton, Sir Archibald (Bart.)—Collector, Bhagalpur, 1789: Magistrate, 1803.
- 292(a). Shackwell, Rev. W. H.—Church Missionary to the Sontals, 1870.
293. Shaw, Cap. Thomas—Adjutant, Corps. of Hill Rangers, 1793: held 14 bighas and 7 cottaks of land at Bhagalpur, 1802: in 1798, contributed £62.10 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe.
294. Shaw, W.—held 60 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1802—1827.
295. Shadwell, Major—66th Regiment, N. I., Monghyr, 1824.
296. Shickle, Lieut. J.—Monghyr, 1814.
297. Sherbourne, Joseph—Collector, Bhagalpur, 1801.
- 297(a). Sherwill, Zoney Hill—Bhagalpur, died November, 1849.
298. Shubrick, Major—1st Light Cavalry, Bhagalpur, 1825.
299. Skinner, Lieut. Col. Hert—2nd Battalion, 19 Regiment N. I., Bhagalpur, 1803.
- 299(a). Skinner—Bengal Civil Service—died at Bhagalpur, February, 1863: age 28 years.
300. Sloane, Cap. D.—Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1804.
301. Smith, George—Trader, Bhagalpur, residence since 1783.
302. Smett, A.—Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, 1812: held 41 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, with house and garden, 1814.
303. Smith, John—Bhagalpur, 1795.
304. Southall, Joseph—Bhagalpur, 1827.
305. Southerland, J. C. C.—Joint Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1815: Joint Magistrate at Monghyr, 1816: in 1818 he held 18 bighas of land with house and garden at Monghyr.
306. Speed, Danvers, H. W.—Bhagalpur, 1825.
307. Spedding, William—Acting Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1804.
308. Spottiswood, Cap. Robert—held 10 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1800.
309. Stacehenry, J.—Bhagalpur, 1807.
310. Stean, Cap.—His Majesty's 49th Foot, Monghyr, 1831.
311. Steele, J.—in charge of Public Works, Bhagalpur, 1831.
312. Steele, T.—Overseer, 13th Dept., Bhagalpur, 1825.
313. Steer, C.—Collector, Bhagalpur, 1836.
314. Steer, W.—owned 35 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1818.
315. Steer, C. W.—Collector, Bhagalpur, September, 1816—July, 1818: Collector of Jessore, 1816: Commissioner of Circuit, 12th Division, Monghyr, 1833: Deputy Post Master, Bhagalpur, 1835.
316. Stewart, Col.—General in 1818: possessed land at Monghyr: the original purchaser Thomas Glass disposed of it by private sale to Fombelle and by latter to Stewart.
317. Stokes, W.—Deputy Commissary of Ordnance, Monghyr, 1794: possessed land at Monghyr.

318. Stonehouse, J. B. (Bart.)—Collector, Bhagalpur, September, 1823—June, 1824 : March, 1825 to March, 1826 : Deputy Postmaster, Bhagalpur, 1825 : Revenue Member, 1826.
319. Stoven, Col. Richard—17 Regiment Foot, Bhagalpur, 1805.
320. Stuart, R. R.—Collector, Bhagalpur, 1853.
321. Swatman, Lieut. W.—Sub-Assistant Commissary ; General and Timber Agent, Bhagalpur, 1834.
322. Swiney, Lieut. S.—Commanding Invalids, Monghyr, 1820.

(T)

323. Tanner, Cap. H.—Commanding at Monghyr, 1816, Revenue Surveyor and officiating Regulating Officer, Bhagalpur, 1825.
324. Taylor, P. E. G.—Collector, Bhagalpur, 8 March, 1848 to 9 September, 1848.
325. Templer, J. W.—Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1823 : Joint Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1825 : held 13 bighas of land with a house at Monghyr.
326. Thomas, Francis—in service of Cleveland (No. 84), 1783.
327. Thomson, H. I. (Mrs.)—Monghyr, 1831.
328. Tomba, Marco Della—also known as La Padre Mare, Le Pere Mark : The Rev. Marco, Italian Missionary, Bhagalpur, 1798.
329. Tombelle, J.—Bhagalpur : in 1798 he made a contribution of £156.5 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe and the defence of the British nation.
330. Tonne, Lieut. Col. W.—Commanding Officer, Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1805.
331. Torrick, C. W.—Senior Sub-Assistant Trigonometrical Survey, Monghyr, 1833.
332. Toshack, G.—Surgeon, Monghyr, 1798 : contributed Sicca Rs. 400/- in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe, 1798.
333. Travers, W.—Special Deputy Collector, Monghyr, 1836.
334. Trower, C. L.—Assistant to the Judge, Bhagalpur, 1799 : contributed £37.10 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe, 1798 : Held 39 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1803 : Acting Collector, 24 Parganas, 1817.
335. Trower, W.—Assistant to the Judge, Bhagalpur, 1779 : Assistant to Magistrate and Register to the Judge and Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1805.
336. Tulford—Deputy Commissary Ordnance, 1798 : contributed Sicca Rs. 100/- in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe.
337. Turner, Edward—Surgeon to the garrison at Monghyr, 1802.
338. Turner, J. L.—held lands at Colgong with house and garden, 1825 : also 18 bighas at Bhagalpur, 1822.
- 338(a). Turner, John, L. O.—Bhagalpur, died August, 1816.
339. Turner, R.—Acting Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1807.
340. Tytlers, J.—Assistant Surgeon, Monghyr, 1822 : held 1 bigha of land at Monghyr, 1826.

(U)

341. Udney, George—Bhagalpur, 1782: resident of Maldah, 1797: contributed Rs. 200/- for poor relief, Madras, October, 1782.

(V)

342. Vebart, G. T.—Acting Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1822: Revenue Member, Bhagalpur, 1827: held 13 bighas of land at Monghyr (Date of authority, July, 1793).

(W)

343. Walker, Alexander—Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1782: contributed Rs. 300/- for poor relief, Madras, October, 1782.
344. Ward, Crossley William—Assistant Collector, Bhagalpur, 1807: pay Rs. 400/-.
345. Ward, J. P.—Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, 1822: Collector of Bhagalpur and Commissioner, November, 1824: Acting Collector, 1825: Collector, March to December, 1828, February, 1829 to September, 1830, February, 1831 to November, 1831, December, 1831 to December, 1832, March, 1833 to November, 1833, January, 1834, to November, 1834: Officiating Commissioner of Circuit 12th Division, Monghyr and Acting Revenue Member, 1826: held land at Bhagalpur, 1829.
346. Ward, W. C.—Assistant to Collector, Bhagalpur, 1808.
347. Ward, J. P.—Collector, Bhagalpur, 1822-26: held 35 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur.
348. Ware, Major Charles—17th Regiment, Midnapur: invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.
349. Warner, E. Lee—Commissioner of Revenue, Monghyr, 1832: Judge of Bhagalpur, 1835.
350. Watson, Cap.—Bhagalpur, 1826.
351. Watson, W. C.—Collector, Bhagalpur, February-March, 1847 and December, 1847 to March, 1848.
352. Welding, Lieut. Col.—Commanding garrison at Monghyr, 1775.
353. Wells, F. O.—Acting Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1831.
354. William, W. T.—Bhagalpur: contributed Rs. 50/- for poor relief, Madras, October, 1782.
355. Williams, John—Commanding 2nd Battalion, N. I., held lands at Bhagalpur (1818) and Monghyr: contributed Rs. 500/- in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe, 1798.
356. Wilson, Lieut—Bhagalpur, 1782.
357. Welton, Major G.—Captain 1798: Major and Regulating Officer, Bhagalpur, 1804: Commanding officer and Superintendent Invalid Establishment, Monghyr, 1805: contributed £35 in support of His Majesty's Government and the defence of the British Nation in 1798.

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358. Winter, Sergeant Major—Bhagalpur : contributed £12.10 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe, 1798.
359. Wintle, James—Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1802 : Judge and Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1805 : purchased from Tombelle (No. 329) 50 bighas of land at Bhagalpur.
360. Wombwill, John—Bhagalpur ; He contributed Rs. 500/- for poor relief, Madras, October, 1782.
- 360(a). Wood, David—Died at Bhagalpur, 1796.
361. Wright, George—14th Regiment, Berhampur ; invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.
362. Wyatt, James—in the employ of Charles Cockrell, Assistant to Cleveland (No. 84), 1783.

(Y)

363. Young, Major Thomas—of Bengal Native Infantry, died at Bhagalpur, January, 1832.

K. K. BASU.

The Rise & Fall of the Dutch in India.

NO HISTORY OF THE DUTCH IN INDIA.

THE Dutch have played an important role in the political and commercial history of India since 1600. During the latter half of the 17th century they touched the zenith of their power and prestige. It appeared that they would succeed the Portuguese as the foremost European nation in India, but the events in Europe and India shattered that hope. The rise and fall of any nation is not solely dependent upon any one cause, but a dominant factor may contribute to its greatness and decline. In this article it is proposed to study the commercial privileges obtained by the Dutch in India and to trace the development and decadence of their power to this one factor.

There is no comprehensive history of the Dutch written by any Indian or English scholar up till now. The material for such a work is mainly in Dutch and preserved at Batavia, Colombo and the Hague. The inaccessibility of this material scattered in so many distant places coupled with the language difficulty, must have led to the neglect of the Dutch history. The Cambridge History of India has recently given a chapter to the political history of the Dutch.

SOURCES FOR DUTCH COMPANY HISTORY IN INDIA.

I have not come across any English book which deals with the theme of the present article. It is mainly based on the Typescript Dutch Records of the India Office. These consist of thirty-six volumes of translations and many more of original Dutch documents copied from the Hague.

The British Museum has a very valuable manuscript Addl. No. 29,095 entitled "Persian copies with English translations of Firmans and Sunnuds granted to the Dutch Company". The first part contains Persian copies of the original grants, and the second supplies their English translation. Thus this manuscript supplies correct information on the commercial privileges secured by the Dutch in various parts of India.

Supplementary light is thrown by the important works of a few Dutch writers like Peter de la Valle, Mendelslo, Baldaens, Valentign, and Stavorinus. The recent works of Jouge, Maclood, Moreland, Tefpstra are of great help, though I could not fully utilize the latter due to the difficulty of language.

The Dutch secured special rights from the independent princes of the Coromandel and Malabar coasts. They posed as liberators of the Indian

people from the tyrannies of the Portuguese ; and were hailed by the people and princes alike for developing industrial and financial resources. But as the whole of the Deccan was ultimately absorbed in the Mogul Empire, the rights conferred by Aurangzeb materially influenced the history of the Dutch. Surat was the richest city and the greatest entrepot of the Mogul Empire. Consequently in this article we can appropriately limit our study to the privileges obtained by them at Surat.

THE DUTCH AT SURAT.

Haus de Wolff visited this port by the sea route and sent a letter dated 24th April, 1602 on the prospects of trade there. His party was invited by 'the King of Mogorres' for an interview, but they were murdered by the Portuguese in 1605 a Dutch fleet under Admiral Steven Van der Haghen visited Surat and a merchant called David Van Deyssen was left in the city. We have a letter from him of 17 Nov., 1607 from Durhanpur. He was ultimately imprisoned through the machinations of the Portuguese, carried to the Khan-i-Khanan and threatened with torments and death (Dec. 25). The same letter informs us that a Dutch fleet of eight ships, after burning the rich town of Mozambique, was staying at Danda Rajapur near Chaul. A letter from Petapali gives the news of his being put to death at Surat. Really he shot himself to put an end to his sufferings (1).

DUTCH FACTORY AT SURAT.

There are two documents in the Portuguese Records which throw light on the settlement of the Dutch at Surat. These make no mention of the English.

Doc. 42, dated 27th Jan., 1607 gives instructions for the North Fleet to blockade the port of Surat so that no ships should stir out to the south to the prejudice of the King's customs or the trade of his allies. It is explicitly mentioned that "there depart for Duchem every year ships, both Dutch as well as native ones, and return to port laden with all kinds of merchandise."

Doc. 58 of Jan. 2, 1608 refers to the sale of goods captured by the Dutch and sold at Surat. Again, Doc. 60, dated 4th Jan., 1608 contains orders for taking measures of conquest, fortifications and negotiations in Pegu, Siam and Sondip to prevent the Dutch from trading in those parts.

It is evident that they used to frequent the port of Surat and had a Dutch factor there before the English established their first factory through Mr. Hawkins. Earlier settlement must have given them a greater hold and credit in the Surat Market. In 1616 Pieter van der Broecke came to Surat and the memorandum of the merchandise drawn by him for Surat, Agra,

(1) Vol. II, Docs. 71 & 72 of 1614 relate the whole story of his death. It is said that he committed suicide at Burhanpur. Thereupon his goods were kept in sole custody by Khan-i-Khanan. The Dutch were informed to take these back from the Governor of Surat. Cf. Vol. III, Doc. 87.

Cambay and the surrounding countries in 1622, (2) gives an idea of the extensive commercial activities of this nation.

DUTCH PRIVILEGES.

The Dutch like all other merchants were experiencing certain difficulties in carrying on trade in the Mugal Empire, but they wanted to remove these to the minimum.

In the year 1619 the Dutch President P. V. Der Broecke secured a Firman from Prince Khurram for the removal of commercial hardships. Its main items were :

1. Freedom of travel and trade without molestation ;
2. Permission to import and export goods on the payment of usual duties ;
3. No violence to be used by officers in purchasing Dutch goods ;
4. Curiosities not to be opened ;
5. Goods of the deceased Dutch to be made over to the Dutch factors ;
6. No interference in their mutual quarrels ;
7. No proselytizing of the Dutch or their servants ;
8. Victuals to be duty-free.

These privileges were supplemented by another grant of the same year from the Emperor himself for freedom from molestation and transit duties on the way from Surat to Durhanpur, Ahmedabad and Cambay. In 1626, 1632 and 1635 these privileges were confirmed by Shah Jahan. When the alliance of the English and Portuguese in 1634 exasperated the Indian princes, the Dutch managed to get more rights from several of them.

The Hindus and Muslims had to undergo all the hardships from which the Dutch were freed by the successive Firmans. The consequence was that both maritime and inland trade began to pass more and more into foreign hands.

The natives of the country were also losing their shipping trade by the piracies committed by the foreigners and the stifling restrictions of obtaining passes from one of the European nations for the safety of the native ships. The Dutch may be said to be sovereigns of the seas as such they could dictate terms to the rulers of India who had no navies of their own to protect their shipping and their shores.

THE POLICY OF THE MAILED FIST.

Privileges once secured could not be maintained but by a mailed fist in those days of arbitrary Government, and especially when they were in direct opposition to the interests of the state officials. The main source of the incomes of the revenue collectors was dried up by granting the Dutch exemption from paying transit duties and presents. The officials were consequently reluctant to carry out the commands of the distant monarch

or even the governor, particularly when they were conscious that the complaints of the foreigners would not be much heard. Hence there was an ever-present element of conflict between officials and foreign traders. The latter always tried to win the goodwill of every new governor and monarch by presents of money and rarities, but sometimes when these failed, they had recourse to reprisals on the sea. How the Dutch had to wage a war against Shah Jahan in 1648 for the maintenance of their rights at Surat will be evident from the following documents.

"Every day they invent new vexations. In Bengal it has come so far that they blame us for all the pillage done by the Danes, and they demanded compensation from us. In Surat they are so bold and arrogant, that they not only obstinately refused to return the money stolen from the factory, but have despatched a vessel to Achin without our leave or pass. They know that in case of their vessel being seized, they can secure redress to themselves by laying embargo on the Company's property here. The G. General and Council at Batavia do not wish any foreign vessels to visit the tin districts and have given orders against their entrance into Achin, but the Moors will never desist unless they are brought to obedience by force. The longer this is postponed, the more difficult an undertaking it will prove."

One year later in 1649, there is another despatch to the same effect.

"A residence of over twenty-two years in Guzerat has acquainted you with the manifold and repeated vexations, worries and insults which the servants of the Company have been daily exposed to in the Kingdom of the Great Mogul. Matters have gone from bad to worse, they know that we prefer peaceful trading to the ravages of war. They have introduced monopolies, imposed unjust duties, and put every obstacle in the way of our trading they would possibly think of The Moors deserve a severe lesson ere we shall obtain free and unmolested trading."

A few months later, the Dutch fleet did actually capture Indian vessels returning from Persia and Arabia and having a capital in specie on board amounting to £100,000 and merchandise valued at £37,500. This exploit caused such a consternation among the merchants of Surat that the Governor was compelled to concede to all the demands of the Dutch. Commenting upon this incident, the Dutch factors at Surat remarked that "the Moors are now convinced that the benefits of the trade with Surat are not all on our side; they have also been taught the fact that we could easily destroy their commerce in all parts of India. Their trade by sea is the source of their wealth and of the income of the King. The products of the country, namely, indigo, cloths, saltpetre and provisions, are sufficient to maintain its inhabitants or fill the treasury. Our determined action has in no way harmed our trade in Surat, but on the contrary greatly improved it, for from henceforth we are safe from any obstacle being put in the Way."

THE DUTCH—THE MOST FAVOURED NATION AT SURAT.

Doc. 332 of the Dutch Records of the year 1638 contains a statement of the customs duties levied at the premier part of Surat. No preference was

shown to any nation or community in the rate of customs, but all were equally taxed. Since the schedule in Bengal was the same as at Surat, it appears that uniform duties were imposed in the Mogul Empire. But the existence of numerous toll-houses in inland places was a curse to merchants.

Frequent grants were secured by the Europeans for an unobstructed trade, and sometimes exemption from transit duties was also secured by these nations. In 1655 Shah Jahan granted to the Dutch Firmans for exemption of tolls from Surat to all inland places and from the Bengal ports to Agra and Delhi. The people soon realized that this concession transferred a large part of their trade into foreign hands. Their protests and representations to Aurangzeb could not bring the desired relief. Rather the privileges of the Dutch were ratified by Aurangzeb in 1662. Two years later even the customs duties were reduced in the case of the two European nations.

The courage shown by the English during Shivaji's attack on Surat won the admiration of the Emperor. In appreciation of their services in boldly defending the houses of their neighbours by continuing firing of guns, a Royal grant was conferred on the Company in 1664. By this they were fully exempted from paying one year's customs, and after that period, one-half per cent was abated out of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent customs for ever. It is recorded in the despatches of the Dutch that both the European nations really made a profit from this catastrophe on account of the said abatement.

The Dutch got exemptions from transit duties which amounted to 10—12% between Agra and Surat and 10—25% between Ahmadabad and Surat in 1662. The brokerage charge of 1% was also remitted.

Dr. Fryer who was at Surat and Bombay for some years remarks that "they give us the preference before others here resident, and look on us with the same respect as they do on their great Omrahs."

Another potent factor tended to transfer the maritime trade to the Europeans. Discriminating duties were started by Aurangzeb in an ordinance issued on 10th April, 1665, when the custom duty was fixed at 2% in the case of Muslims and 5% in that of the Hindus. Two years later on May 9th, 1667, the Muslims were altogether exempted, while the duties on other classes were retained at the old level. Add to this discouragement the imposition of Jaziya or poll-tax. Ninety years (1667—1757) of discriminating taxation in favour of Muhammedans and against the Hindus must have transferred the trade of the country to the hands of the former, but the muslims themselves were handicapped in maritime commerce by their European rivals.

It is now evident that all Asiatics were placed at a great disadvantage as compared with the Europeans. The Dutch were the most favoured among them all, while the Muhammedans enjoyed preferential treatment among the Asiatics, but even they were largely handicapped by the burdensome imposts. No Asiatic could compete with any European, much less with a Dutchman.

The freight charges also fell heavily upon the Asiatic merchants, while the goods were generally carried by Europeans either freight-free or on a smaller charge in their Company's ships.

COMPARATIVE POSITION OF THE TWO NATIONS UP TO 1707.

The Dutch, notwithstanding bitter opposition, continued to enjoy exemption from transit duties up to 1678 (3). Azeem's Nizhan was confirmed by his successors Shaista Khan and Nabob Meer Ahmad (3). Then from a grant of Nabob Kukultash Khan obtained in 1689, it appears that the Dutch paid only 4% duty at Hughly and 5% at the ports of Piply and Balasore, that no transit tolls were levied, that their own Dustucks were to pass current, and that 4% coinage duty was to be charged for coining gold and silver Akharnagar. This grant was supplemented by another (3) which stated that the village of Chincura dependent on the Pergunnah Area, and of Barnagur dependent on the Pergunnah of Calcutta, and the Bazar at Mirzapore dependent on the Bukshbunder had long been in the possession of the Dutch Company and that all extra demands, tax on houses, pressing of coolies and commissions were remitted in those places.

Again, on the pacification of the Zemindars' revolt in Bengal, the Dutch received an acknowledgment of their "due diligence and industry, fidelity and affection shown" in the cause of the government and a confirmation of the former privileges in 1696 (4) and 1699 (4). No new rights, nor any remission of duties could be secured. The English had, however, enjoyed freedom from inland duties from 1652 onward and were successful in getting customs duties commuted into a single annual payment of Rs. 3,000 only after 1692. Therefore they began to enjoy the status of the most favoured nation in the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The result of this survey can best be described in the English Company's own words written to the New Company on 23rd March, 1698 (5):—

"The Company have by Grants, Phirmaunds and mutual Stipulations obtained very great privileges and Immunities in most parts of India, not only beyond any other Nations Trading thither, but even beyond the Natives themselves."

We can now compare this statement with the remarks of Stavrinus on the privileges of his countrymen in India. "From them it appears that the trade of the Dutch Company in the Empire of Hindustan, has, from time to time, been encouraged with such extraordinary privileges, as if they were, and even more than as if they were, natives of the country, and the prince's own subjects, who has taken them under his special protection, against the oppressions and extortions of his lieutenants, governors, etc." (6).

(3) Museum Ms. Additional, 29095.

(4) Museum Ms. Additional, 29095.

(5) Ibid., Harleian No. 7019, p. 29. An account of what passed in the treaty between the New and old E. I. Co.

(6) Stavrinus, III., 102.

The difference in the positions of the Dutch and English was accentuated with the lapse of time. The former could never get their duties commuted or remitted, but had even to submit to the vexatious executions. There are two grants from Prince Furruckseer of the years 1708 and 1709 (7), expressly mentioning that a double duty should not be collected but only a "duty of 2½ % at Hugly according to the established Rate at the Port of Surat."

The Dutch seem to have withdrawn their factory from Surat, as their goods were seized by the Suratters for the piracies committed by them on the sea. Reconciliation was soon effected and they were not only restored to their former privileges, but the one per cent Jazia as well as the 1½ per cent duty levied at Broach, were remitted them, so that they had to pay only 2½ per cent duty at Surat and no more throughout the Empire for goods imported via Surat. The duties at Hugly were also reduced to 2½ per cent by the same character of Bahadur Shah in 1707. It appears that the brokerage duty of one per cent was re-imposed in some year, but it was again remitted by the above-named Firman (8).

THE DUTCH LEFT BEHIND AFTER 1716.

At last we come to the great charter of the Dutch which equalised the duties throughout the Mogul Empire, exempted them from inland dues and confirmed many former privileges tending to facilitate trade ; but even these were outmatched by those of their English rivals who secured from Furruckseer a very favourable Firman which can be styled the Magna Charta of British trade in India. The new important privilege was the payment of Rs. 10,000 at Surat in place of 2½ per cent duties. For purpose of comparison, the main stipulations of the Dutch and English charters are here stated on the basis of an Indian Office Manuscript :—

THE DUTCH.	THE ENGLISH.
1. Duties in Bengal 2½ per cent.	Rs. 3,000 only p.a.
2. Duties at Surat 2½ per cent.	Rs. 10,000 only p.a.
3. Duties as usual in the Deccan.	Free.
4. Seignorage on coinage remitted, but some years after reimposed.	No charge.
5. Towns of Chinsura, Barnagur & Mirzapur on lease.	Calcutta, Gobindpur, etc., on lease.
6. Transit dues remitted.	The same.
7. Justice to be done by Government officials in the recovery of advances to weavers, dyers, etc.	Justice in the hands of the English.

The preceding statement badly represents the extraordinary advantages enjoyed by the English. The provisions of the Dutch charters were not

(7) Museum Ms. Addl. No. 29095. III., 20 & 21.

(8) Dutch Records, A. Vol. V., Doc. 2611, No. 8, also No. 17.

changed on any subsequent occasion, but were only confirmed in 1729 by Mahammad Shah, and in 1737 by Kummurudin Khan, Grand Vizier of the Empire and again in 1744 by Nabob Alliverdy Khan. The duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on all goods and even on coinage is expressly mentioned, while other privileges formerly engaged by the Dutch are restated in the latter two grants. These were reconfirmed by Meer Jaffir in 1759 and by Nabob Seriful-Dowla in 1766. It is evident that the Dutch could never secure exemption or even compounding of their dues and duties up to the acquisition of the Diwanee of Bengal by the English. The preferential treatment accorded to the latter throughout the Empire for so many years and in Bengal for over a century was bound to tell against the Dutch. *Ceteris paribus*, remission of taxes inevitably to the superiority of the English in the control of the foreign and inland commerce of India.

A VIEW OF COMMERCIAL PROFITS.

To these causes must be added the sovereignty of the sea enjoyed by the Dutch and other Europeans. No Indian vessel could leave the shores of India without obtaining a permit of protection from one of these European nations. Even then Indian ships were not free from capture. European pirates could play havoc upon them, or a European nation at war with an Indian prince or with another European power used to make prizes of these vessels. Thus Indian shipping was not safe on the seas and foreign ships used to be frightened more and more with the growing naval power of the Europeans. The extraordinary profit earned in the carrying trade by the foreigners has been shown in my Commercial Relations between India and England. Here it will suffice to quote the figures given, by Sieru Luillier regarding the profit of trade at the end of the 17th century :—

1200 per cent on Japan articles.

1000 per cent on Japan articles.

500 per cent on Chinese silks.

30-40 per cent on Bengal silks and rice to Coromandel.

We are told by this traveller that the Dutch had never less than forty ships and often more, trading continually from one place to another in the East.

According to Stavorinus the profits of the eleven years from 1663—1674 amounted yearly to 520% upon finer spices. These rose to 850% from 1689 to 1698.

These facts are confirmed by Valentyne who states the Dutch gains at Surat to be :—

665% upon cloves.

1453% .. nutmegs.

718% .. mace.

128% .. copper bars.

42% .. Benzoin.

27% .. quicksilver.

THE EVENTS IN INDIA AND EUROPE ACCENTUATE DUTCH DECLINE.

It is now evident that the profits earned in the carrying trade, monopolies and in commercial concerns were utilized in strengthening the army, navy and forts. The expenses of wars with the Eastern princes and European rivals were to be derived from this source. With the drying up of this item by reason of the growing trade and power of the English all the instruments of war began to shrivel up. A small country like Holland could not maintain an empire in the east without commercial profits. The dwindling of these in the 18th century brought about the inevitable result of reduction in armaments and the power of resistance which is based upon men, money and materials.

This decline in India was accentuated by events in Europe.

The English Company by becoming the most favoured nation in India began to capture more and more the carrying and maritime trades. Thus the Dutch began to be ousted from these spheres. This entailed reduction in revenue and consequently in armaments.

The accession of the Prince of Orange on the throne of England, in February, 1689, brought about a temporary alliance of the two most powerful maritime nations of Europe against the threatening naval power of France. The shortsighted policy of Louis XIV, instead of winning over the Dutch seapower to his own side, threw it into the arms of the English. "England and Holland were not only allied, but united under the same chief; and England entered the coalition with all the eagerness of passions long restrained by the Stuart policy." The wars of the League of Augsburg and Spanish succession completed the ruin of the French navy, exhausted her people, deranged her finances and shrivelled her empire. Holland ceased to be numbered among the great powers of Europe, her navy was no longer a military factor in diplomacy, and her commerce also shared in the general decline of the state." Holland gained nothing at sea, no colony, no station. She was hopelessly left behind. England acquired unequalled sea power by the vast superiority of her navy and the transference of the carrying trade of the world. The capture of Chandarnagar and Chinsura in Bengal and the fall of Pondicherry sounded the death-knell of the French and Dutch domination in India. After the battle of Plassey the revenues of Bengal, control of the accumulated treasures of the Nawabs and growing profits from monopolized trade combined to swell the financial resources of the English, while their rivals were placed at their mercy for their very existence in Bengal and the Mogul Empire. In short, the main spring of the land campaigns, and naval wars conducted by the English in India up to 1757 was their political supremacy placed in their hands the financial resources of Bengal. After 1710 onwards the Dutch and the French were left far behind the English in commerce and consequently in their power to finance wars in the East. This financial stringency ultimately spelled ruin to the Dutch commerce in India.

BAL KRISHNA.

Obituary Notice

THE LATE SIR EVAN COTTON.

AT the request of the acting editor of "Bengal: Past and Present" I contribute a few paragraphs recalling mainly Sir Evan Cotton's association with the Calcutta Historical Society and his endeavours to encourage historical research. His distinguished career at the bar of the Calcutta High Court, his services to this city as a member of the Corporation, his conduct for many years of "India" the organ of the Indian National Congress in London, his term as a member of Parliament and his work as President of the Bengal Legislative Council which earned for him the honour of Knighthood in 1925—have already received mention in the daily press. The few personal references I have included in my notes are unavoidable in a personal tribute such as this.

Sir Evan Cotton retired from practice as a barrister and returned to England in 1906, a year before the Calcutta Historical Society came into existence; but he had already shown the way in historical inquiry, and had aroused interest in the study of the past by his contributions to the local papers, by his review, "The Century in India", published in "The Englishman" of January, 1901, which described in graphic paragraphs the social changes and political developments that had taken place in this country during the preceding hundred years, and still more by his important work, "Calcutta: Old and New." This is indeed a monument of honest labour. While in England his reputation as a student of Indian affairs led to his election as a member of the governing body of the School of Oriental Studies in which he served till he returned to India in 1922.

In this year, at the invitation of Lord Lytton, Sir Evan came back to Calcutta to occupy the important office of President of the Bengal Legislative Council. On his arrival here he was also elected Vice-President of the Calcutta Historical Society and Editor of "Bengal: Past and Present."

Sir Evan's influence in the Society was immediately felt. He seemed to put new life into it, attracted new contributors to its magazine, and "The Editor's Note Book" provided more interesting information than ever before. In addition to his work for the Society his specialized study of Indian documents led to Sir Evan's appointment to the Indian Historical Records Commission of which he was chairman from 1923 to 1925. At the public session of the Commission, in 1925, he read his instructive notes on "The Journals of Archibald Surnton", and to the sessions of 1926 and 1927 he

contributed his papers on the famous Frenchmen, Benoit de Boigne and Gentil.

It was after the Annual Meeting of the Historical Society held in the Asiatic Society's Rooms in December, 1922, that I made the acquaintance to Sir Evan Cotton, and was asked by him to join the Executive Committee of the Society. I am glad to recall that in his work as editor of "*Bengal: Past and Present*", I was able to be of some service as cartographer, and in a way, as "art editor" of the magazine, supervising the preparation of maps and charts, supplying occasional geographical notes, and preparing photographs of faded old paintings, and indifferent snap-shots of ancient ruins and monuments for process reproduction.

The last time I spoke with him was after the committee meeting of 1925, when we walked down the stairs of the Record Office together, and talked for some while by the kerf outside. Just before he left India for the last time he and Lady Cotton called on me at "Swan Park", Alipore, to say "good-bye"; but I was, unfortunately too ill to receive any visitors. Though I never saw him again I occasionally heard from him while living in Italy, between 1930 and 1933. In the latter year the low value of the English pound abroad, drove me from Italy and the Continent to England. On learning of my arrival there Sir Evan wrote me from Eastbourne, "the change to London, is, I fear, only a transfer from the frying-pan into the fire: our taxation is terrific. I contribute regularly to "*Bengal: Past and Present*" which continues to flourish." I discovered that his adjective describing English taxation was not an overstatement, for I was charged income tax for the four months preceding my entry into England, and for five months after I had left England to reside in Spain. But this is "another story".

Sir Evan Cotton was always generous in giving his time and personal labour to further literary work and I benefited by his helpful co-operation in connection with an Indian compilation which I had begun in the British Museum Reading Room and continued in the India Office Library. I wrote asking him for the translation of a passage in an old Bengali poem of 1495—the "*Manāsa Māngala*" of Vipradasa—to which he had briefly referred in his "*Calcutta: Old and New*". I expected a reply of, at the most, twenty lines, but was surprised to find, some weeks later, that Sir Evan had taken the trouble to write to three correspondents in Calcutta for the translation. His letter enclosed copies of the replies received to his enquiring from Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Mr. Asadullah of the Imperial Library, and from the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, which extended it to eight pages. Later on, to assist me further he sent me information which enabled me to trace without loss of time the poem of his talented brother Julian J. Cotton, in old number of "*The Calcutta Review*" and in "*The Book of Corpus Verses*."

In more recent years, after my return home to Calcutta, I received from him several cuttings from English periodicals, which he knew would be useful to me, and also an unpublished poem by his brother, copied out from the family correspondence, entitled, "*Epistola act Patrem*" and written after the

manner of the "Epistles" of Horace to his friends. It is a welcome addition to my collection.

But sudden illness, not long after, made letter-writing difficult, and Sir Evan's last three letters were written by Lady Cotton. "I have to rely on my wife to conduct my correspondence", was his message in 1937. "I have told the Calcutta Historical Society that I am not able to continue to contribute." My last letter from him is dated January 8th of this year, in which he stated—Lady Cotton acting as his scribe—"my health remains about the same, but I have had to give up all literary activity I get very little news from Calcutta nowadays."

Just two months later, on March 8th, appeared the unhappy announcement of Sir Evan's passing, which must have caused sincere and widespread regret among his friends in India and among his colleagues in the Calcutta Historical Society.

F. C. S.

THE LATE LORD BRABOURNE

The following resolutions were passed at a special meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society held on the 4th of March, 1939 and copies of the same were sent to the Lady Brabourne and the press.

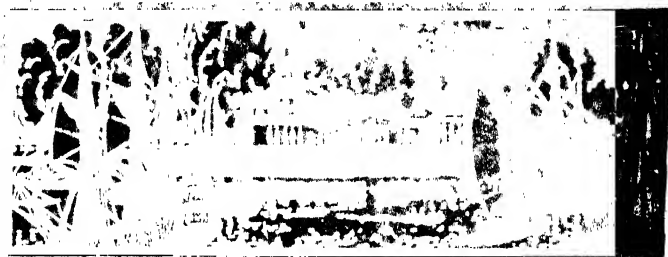
"That the Executive Committee of the Calcutta Historical Society desires to express its most profound sorrow at the untimely death of Lord Brabourne, whose early demise has robbed Bengal of a much loved Governor, and the Empire of a devoted servant. Lord Brabourne's interest in all forms of culture, especially that relating to India, was patent to all those who had the privilege of knowing him, and the Society feels that it has sustained a personal loss in his widely lamented passing.

To the Lady Brabourne and her sons the Society conveys its deepest sympathy in their great bereavement."

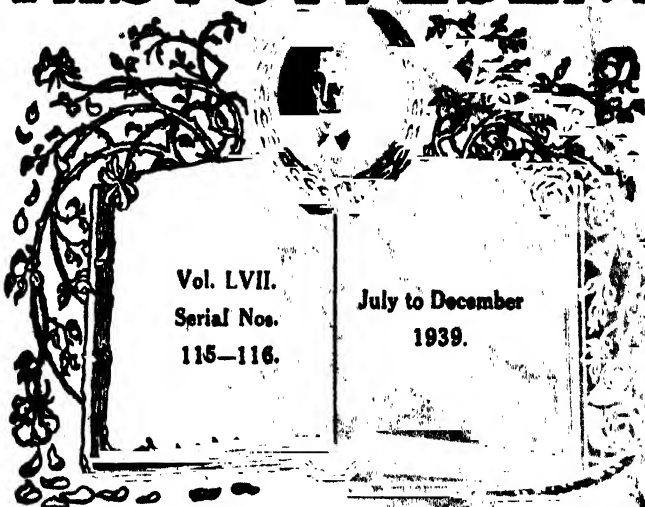
Editor's Note-Book.

MR. A. F. M. ABDUL ALI delivered a very interesting lecture at the Mahabodhi Society on the Buddha's doctrine on the occasion of their celebrating the anniversary of the preaching of the India's Greatest son. First Sermon by Gautama Buddha. In this lecture, he has laid much stress on the Middle Path, shown the significance of the First Sermon which is the *Dhammacakkapavattana* and the importance of the wheel of Doctrine which the Buddha set in motion. He has concluded his lecture by saying that Buddha was the greatest son of India who has influenced the culture of the world, and as such, the people of India, whatever their creed or culture, should join hands in offering a sincere tribute of respect to his memory.

THREE Victorian Guns lying buried in a derelict state in a jungle near the Dum Dum Aerodrome have been found out. As Dum Dum was the site of the first ammunition factory in India, it is not improbable that these guns were cast either there or near the Cossipore Gun Factory. These three guns are still in an excellent state of preservation in spite of their long exposure to the outside atmosphere. The Royal cipher of Queen Victoria on them is quite distinct. Similarly the two guns said to be over 100 years old were unearthed near the site of the old gun carriage factory at Kolaba, Bombay, and were removed to the Prince of Wales Museum.



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The Malabar Rajahs and the East India Company

(Based on unpublished English records).

THE relation of the Company with the Rajahs of Malabar during the close of the 18th century, when the English were engaged in bitter conflicts with their most inveterate foes, Hyder and Tipu, still forms an unwritten chapter of Modern Indian History. Mill, the classic historian of this period, has not dealt with it. Thornton in his 'History of the British Empire in India' makes only incidental references to British campaigns in Malabar in course of the Company's wars with Hyder and Tipu. Robert Montgomery Martin has quoted a few letters relating to this topic, dated between 1798-99, in his compilation of the 'Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley'. Mr. Sidney J. Owen has included certain records regarding the Malabar coast in his 'A Selection from the Despatches, Memoranda and other papers relating to India of the Duke of Wellington'; but these are all confined to the period extending from the 7th April, 1800, to the 11th July, 1804, and illustrate the activities of the Duke of Wellington in bringing the Malabar country under the effective control of the English. We get also some stray references regarding the Malabar Rajahs in Francis Buchanan's 'Journey (1800-1801) from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar'.

Some time back, I discovered a file of manuscript English letters in the valuable historical collections of Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan, a prominent public man of the metropolis of modern Bihar having a keen interest in historical antiquities, which are full of many important and interesting details regarding the relations of the Malabar chiefs with the Sultans of Mysore since Hyder's first invasion of this region in 1766 A.D. and subsequently with the English East India Company. I am told by the Rai Bahadur that he purchased these records from the firm of Francis Edwards Limited a well known book-seller of London. Besides being important for the study of Anglo-Malabar relations, these letters also supply us with many significant facts regarding Anglo-Mysore relations during the period under review, which I hope to bring to light in the near future. As an example, I quote here only one such letter written by Captain Alexander Walker to Lt. Col. Dow (commanding the northern district of Malabar since May 1798),

dated Bombay, the 9th July, 1798 :—"The intelligence conveyed occasionally from Madras concerning Tippoo's intentions is always of an opposite complexion to that received from Malabar. By a statement of apparently great candour which I saw lately he is represented as anxious and determined to preserve his treaty with us. The French have used every argument to shake his resolution and he is kept informed of the brilliant state of their affairs in Europe. He has answered all their entreaties by observing that the fate of war is uncertain as he has experienced, that those events which are represented so much to their advantage have happened in a part of the world from this where they have no influence and that our power continues as far as relates to his unimpaired. The mind and the interest of Tippoo must always be hostile to us but there is the strongest evidence that he will adhere rigidly to the terms on which he made peace with us until the French can support him with a fleet and an Army, events unlikely to happen. This disposition in Tippoo derives a greater degree of credit from the character of those counsellors, who share at present all his confidence".

Turning to Malabar, we find that the more important chiefs of this region were the Rajah of Cherical, the Rajah of Cohote, the Rajah of Cartenadar, the Rajah of Coorg, the Rajah of Bullum (1), the Pyche Rajah in Wynaad, and the Rajah of Cannanore. During Hyder's first invasion of the Malabar in the year 1766, the Rajah of Cherical "took refuge in Tellicherry, where he remained under the Company's protection till the year 1776 when Hyder having made a peace with the Marathas invaded the Malabar coast once more and subdued it. The Prince of Cherical, tired of leading an inactive life at Tellicherry, withdrew himself from the Company's Protection, and went to Hyder who gave him the government of the Cohote country, and also in the year 1777 restored to him the Cherical country (which since the year 1766 had been in the hands of an ally Rajah of Cannanore) upon engaging to pay him a yearly tribute, the Prince continued in the enjoyment of these countries and received the Revenues, but appeared in arms against the Company at the commencement of the troubles in the year 1799 as he declared at that time by Hyder ordered" (2). In 1797 the Cherical chief was admitted as an ally of the East India Company. The Rajah of Cohote was also deprived of his territory in the year 1766 by Hyder but taking advantage of the war with the Company in 1768 the reigning King of Cohote entered the country and obliged Hyder's troops to abandon it, he continued in quite possession of it till the year 1777 when on Hyder's

(1) The district of the Bullum Rajah extended "about thirty-five or forty miles along the Western Ghauts, between the Currut Kull or Jemalabad Ghaut, the road to which is its northern boundary, and the district of Koorg, which bounds it to the south-ward. Its general breadth from west to east is about twenty-five miles, and it is bounded to the eastward by the river Hemavutty which rises nearly in the Cundacull Ghut, and falls into the Cavery after passing the boundary of the districts of the rajahs of Koorg and Bull". Letter to Lieutenant-General Stuart, Serinagapatam, 31st October, 1801, in Owen's *Wellington Despatches*, pp. 129-31.

(2) Letter from Richard Church and Factors at Tellicherry to the Commissioners near Mangalore, dated the 16th February 1798. Vide No. 11 in Appendix to this paper.

second invasion he was once more obliged to fly and retire to his strongholds in the Hills, and, would never submit to Hyder's government, the successor of that prince made an attempt to get possession of this country again in the year 1779, regained part of it, but on Hyder's sending some forces from Serinagapatam the Cohote Raja retired to the Hills" (3). He later on recovered possession of his dominions and became a friend of the Company. The old Rajah of Cartenadar died during the siege of Tellicherry by Hyder, who seized his dominions. His successor "recovered them again in the year 1768 in the same manner as the Rajah of Cohote and in the year 1777 made an agreement with Hyder Ally to become his tributary when he was restored to his territory, but evading Hyder's orders to assist the French", when the English besieged Mahe in 1779, "he was forced to flee (from) his kingdom being in danger of his life, and retired to Tellicherry, and elder nephew of the late Prince succeeded him and was in arms" against the English; but subsequently the Rajah of Cartenadar became an ally of the Company (4). So far as Coorg, lying about 40 miles to the eastward of Tellicherry, was concerned, on the reduction of it by Hyder in 1773 its Rajah "was permitted to retain little but was divested of all power and authority and employed in assisting in the collection of revenues, Hyder governing it by one of his own officers" (5). But after the siege of Tellicherry had been raised by Hyder, one Olah Naigin, "a principal inhabitant of those parts, and a man of an enterprising genius, privately encouraged thereto by the Rajah's family to whom he was related by marriage persuaded his countrymen to take up arms and revolt against Hyder's government and having in the course of two or three months raised a body of 6 or 7000 men he with them in a short time subdued almost the whole of that country, fortified the passes into it, defeated several detachments against him * * *" (6). The young Rajah of Coorg was imprisoned by Tipu Sultan; but he succeeded in effecting his escape and in re-asserting his authority over his kingdom by expelling 'the foreign population' that had been planted there by the Sultan of Mysore. During the third Anglo-Mysore War, he "gave passage to the army of General Abercromby through his dominions (in 1791), and greatly facilitated their operations by the supply of provisions, the communication of intelligence, and the extension of every species of aid he could command" (7). At the close of this war, the English obtained by the treaty of Serinagapatam the province of Malabar and sovereignty over their ally, the Rajah of Coorg, —both of which were important for the English as enabling them to hold Tipu in check. Malabar was placed under the Chiefship of the factory at Tellicherry (8), where the Company had first settled in 1683 A.D.

But all the Rajahs of Malabar did not quietly submit to the Company's authority. Rather, the relations between them, excepting the Rajah of

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) Thornton, *History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. II, p. 499.

(8) Vide Docudent No. 11 quoted in Appendix to this paper.

Coorg, and the English, during the period following the treaty of Serinagapatam, were far from friendly. The Duke of Wellington observed in his *'Memorandum on Marquess Wellesley's Government of India'* written in 1806 A.D., that "as for the Rajahs of Malabar, they (with the exception of the Rajah of Coorg) had been in a state of hostility with the Company from the conclusion of the peace of 1792 till the year 1798, and had kept a considerable proportion of the Bombay army in constant hostile operations against them" (9). The records now studied by me, contain numerous details, which amply vindicate this observation. We know from one of these (10) that in course of two or three years after 1792, the Government of Bombay placed the administration of Malabar in the hands of a Commission, composed of Mr. Wilkinson (President), Lt. Col. Dow, Mr. Handley (?), Mr. Rivett, Mr. Robert Richard. The Commission was constituted with the hope that it "would be a sufficient provision against inefficient councils and corrupt practices" (11). But its members did not pull together well, and the Court of Directors held them responsible for the rebellions of the Malabar Rajahs since about 1796 A.D. (12).

The Bombay Government took immediate measures to suppress these risings in Malabar, and the vigorous efforts of a number of British generals like General Stuart, Lt. Col. Dow, Major General Robert Bowle, Captain Alexander Walker, Lt. Colonels Dunlope and Wiseman, Thomas Eliff, and others, succeeded in compelling some of the Rajahs to submit to British authority; of all the British commanders, Lt. Col. Dow played the most prominent part. Thus in October 1796, the Rajah of Cohote was granted 'free pardon' by the governments of Bombay and Bengal (13). He became henceforth a faithful ally of the Company and promised to help it against the Pyche Rajah. On the 4th May, 1797, the Company issued a Proclamation promising 'clemency' to such persons "as actually and formally put themselves" under British authority and also to such "chiefs and Rayots who remain peaceably in their districts or who offer no molestation" to the British government (14).

But the Pyche Rajah of Wynaad and his adherents still offered "the most obstinate resistance" (15), and on the 9th May, 1797, General Stuart wrote from Tellicherry to Lt. Col. Dow, commanding at Cohote, "that the person of the Pyche Rajah should be attached or secured and that every proper means may be made use of to accomplish this desired event. The Rewards for bringing in his person, if not already mentioned to the

(9) Owen, *Wellington Despatches*, p. 4.

(10) An unsigned rough draft of a letter to the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Vide document No. 1 quoted in Appendix to this paper.

(14) Vide document No. 5 in Appendix to this paper.

(15) Vide document No. 6 in Appendix to this paper.

irregular Moplahs or chiefs, it ought to be done immediately * * *'' (16). The Bombay Government wrote to Lt. Col. Dow on the 25th July, 1797, that the Pyche Rajah was "no longer to exert authority in his district, which it proposed to give away to the Cotiote (17) Rajah (18). After resisting for some time the vigorous exertions of Lt. Col. Dow, the Pyche Rajah signed a treaty with the Company. But this treaty, as the Earl of Mornington observed in his letter to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, written on the 28th February, 1798, from Cape of Good Hope on his way to India, was not "so complete * * * as to warrant a sentiment of security either in his weakness or in his sincerity" (19). He continued therein:—"With respect to the coast of Malabar I shall never think our affairs safe in that quarter until the whole tribe of peculators and plunderers has been severely punished, and until the Pyche Rajah has been reduced to unconditional submission. Our possessions on the coast of Malabar will become an encumbrance to us if they are not speedily brought into some condition of order" (20). We know from certain records quoted by Martin (21) that the Company adopted vigorous measures to bring the Rajahs of Malabar under its influence and to resist the claims of Tipu over them (22); and that at the close of the last Mysore War the control of the entire length of the Malabar coast, from Goa to Cochin, important from strategic as well as commercial points of view, passed to it.

But, as Mr. Owen has pointed out, "except at the coast stations, the Company's authority in the country was, for some time, little more than nominal" (23). He has quoted certain despatches of the Duke of Wellington which show how the Duke had to struggle hard from 1800 to 1804 to make the Company's authority effective over the Malabar coast.

(16) Ibid, and also document No. 9.

(17) For a description of Cotiote, vide Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. II, pp. 96, 131, 483, 490, 499, 520, 530, 540.

(18) Letter from Governor Duncan to Lt.-Col. Dow, dated the 26th July, 1797.

(19) Martin, *Wellesley Despatches*, Vol. I, p. 24.

(20) Ibid, p. 30.

(21) Ibid, pp. 323, 436, 443, 520, 524.

(22) Vide Document No. 11 quoted in the Appendix to this paper.

(23) Owen, *Wellington Despatches*, XXXII.

APPENDIX.

1. Letter from A. Dow to Koorminaad Rajah (of Cohote), dated Callicut, Octo., 1796 :

"I congratulate you with sincere pleasure on the free pardon conferred on your relations by the Govt. of Bengal and Bombay 'which I am also happy I have in some measure been the means of accomplishing' The welfare and prosperity of you and your family is what I very much desire and the good opinion I entertain of you leads me to hope that you will take care not to disappoint me in my expectations. The eyes of the Governor General, the Govt. of Bombay and all the Gentlemen are now towards you.

They expect not only that you will give good advice to your relations but that you will pay without delay your 3 Kisty. You remember what trouble your delay in paying the 1st and 2nd occasioned both to you and to me. You have too much understanding to allow this to happen again"

2. Translation of an *olla* from Kiruda Werma, Rajah of Cotiote, to Commissioner Col. Dow :—

"What passed between us when we had meeting above the Ghauts in the mouth of Mithoonum 971 you must well recollect and what took place thereafter has been the subject of many letters—after having secured a Pardon while I was residing peaceably without any attempt towards interrupting the Company's business at Tellacillum, the Company giving credit to the words of wicked people, and believing everything they chose to represent, withdrew their protection from my subjects. You very well know the confidential footing on which I formerly lived with the Hon'ble Company. If to your goodness I shall be in future indebted for a Return of the like confidence I myself be permitted to reside in peace and . . . in my country, I will myself pay faithfully, the Company's Angdre (Revenue)."

3. "In prosecution of the plan for the subjugation of the Pyche Rebel by the means of Trafalgar troops, we have to acquaint you that the Coorminaad Raja has communicated to us his intentions of shortly proceeding to the Wynaad at the head of two thousand men, part of which will ascend the pass of Pyrmulla under the command of Cootally Nair, and part will prosecute their march under him at the route of Tambercherry Ghaut. This last place he strongly recommends should be occupied by a body of Regular troops to cover his retreat in the event of his being unexpectedly obliged to retire. In this measure we cordially coincide both on motives of general policy, as well as the immediate necessity which exists for the presence of Military forces in that quarter to obviate the conclusion which Tippoo Sultan—should be avow the letters of his officers to Colonel Dow—may draw that our precipitate abandonment of Wynaad was in itself an acknowledgment of his superior claims to that Territory." (Letter from Rivett, Wilkinson, Richards, members of the Commission at Mahe, to Major General Robert

Bowle, Commanding the Troops in the Province of Malabar, dated Mahe, April 10th, 1797).

4. "I have judged it necessary to enclose you a letter of further Instruction for your Guidance in carrying the proposed service into execution and I should think it would be proper for you to communicate the outlines of the Instructions at large to Lt. Col. Dunlope and Wiseman, in order that they may be acquainted with the intention of marching the present detachment into Cohote, and with your proposed plan of operations etc., that in the event of any accident happening to you (which God forbid) they may be able to follow up the intended plan as far as they may find it practicable.

All the troops, Regular and Irregular, with the provisions, stores, carriage, etc., which is to attend the detachment on the present service, being now in camp, and I trust in readiness to move, and every proper inducement having been held out to the Pyche Rajah and his Adherents to come in and submit themselves to Government having proved ineffectual I am now to direct that you under your command march the Detachment into the Cohote district tomorrow morning by such routes and in such column or columns as you may judge most proper for the purpose of carrying into execution the orders you are already in possession of.

You will as often as you can find proper opportunities inform me of your progress and success and your probable further views or speculations regarding the reducing the refractory Inhabitants of that districts to a proper state of subjection and, making them obedient to the Hon'ble Company's Government". (Letter from General Stuart to Lt. Col. Dow, commanding at Cottiangurry, dated Tellicherry, Sunday the 7th May, 1797).

5. "Since despatching to you my instructions and transmitting the Proclamation under the 4th May, it has occured to me that difficulties may arise from the tendency of the last writing, which holds out pardon and consequently protection to those who surrender themselves to our Govt.

The literal interpretation may only warrant that such clemency be extended only to such persons as actually and formally put themselves in our power and you may probably entertain doubts as to the propriety of imparting the indulgence to those who neglect the external ceremony of submission but also remaining quietly or indifferently at their homes may be said to conform to the enlarged meaning or spirit of the Proclamation. * * * * You will be pleased to consider the Chiefs or Ryots who remain peaceably in their districts or who offer no molestation to our Govt. as enjoying our protection and entitled to the benefit of the Proclamation * * * *

The detachment must in the same manner pervade and penetrate through the country as if it was universally hostile, but in that case the persons and property of the submissive inhabitants are not to be injured". (Letter from General Stuart, Headquarters, Tellicherry, 7th May, 1797, to Lt. Col. Dow).

6. "I think it necessary to inform you that you may expect the most obstinate resistance from the Pyche Rajah and his adherents as it appears

by a letter received last night that everything he required was offered to him by the Cherical Rajah to induce him to come in. Even the old Rajah of (?) who is upwards of 85 years of age offered to accompany him and to be answerable for his returning in safety to Cherical should he not approve of the terms that we might be disposed to grant him. This being the case it is of the utmost importance that the person of the Pyche Rajah should be attached or secured and that every proper means may be made use of to accomplish this desired event. The Rewards for bringing in his person if not already mentioned to the irregular Moplahs or Chiefs, it ought to be done immediately and I have the greatest confidence should he meet you in the field and loose in action 2 or 300 of his adherents he will sure apply to you to come in for attached as those people are to their chiefs I never knew them bear up against so severe a loss of Men but the consequence was generally if not always attended with their beginning immediately to disperse.

I trust I shall have good accounts from you in the course of the night or Early in the morning". (A private letter from General Stuart, dated Tellicherry, 12, O'clock 9th May, 1797, to Lt.-Col. Dow, commanding Cohote).

7. "As I deem the Angurry (?) of Conjiote to be a proper station for securing the future tranquility of the Cotiote and other districts below the Western Ghauts, I have judged it necessary you should take part with your detachments in that village (i.e., Wynaad). You will please therefore to make yourself acquainted with all the passes that lead into this country and particularly with those that are adjacent, as it is principally with a view of maintaining the communication through these passes uninterrupted that the troops are quartered in the Wynaad.

* * * * *

For your information and further guidance I have enclosed a list of the number and distances of the Ghauts that open from this district on the Coramballa" List of Names of the Ghauts or Passes that led into the Wynaad and Coramballa districts :—

- 1st. Carra Cotha Cherrim to the southward.
- 2nd. Pandaloor Cherrim 8 miles to the Northwest of the former.
- 3rd. Cholanadi Cherrim 8 miles from Pandaloor.
- 4th. Kyda Kundiparra Cherrim 4 miles north of the former.
- 5th. Tamricherry Cherrim 4 miles.
- 6th. Tallinatoo Cherrim or Balliala 6 miles.
- 7th. Tennenoo Cherrim 8 miles.
- 8th. Erromootoor Cherrim 4 miles.
- 9th. Cootiary Cherrim 4 miles.
- 10th. Ella Cherrim 2 miles.
- 11th. Perrim Cherrim 8 miles.
- 12th. Nelliordo Cherrim 10 miles.
- 13th. Motioor Cherrim 2 miles.

(Letter from Col. Dow to Lt. Thomas Iliff, Commanding the Detachment of the 9th Battalion in the Wynaad, dated Conjiote, 17th May, 1796).

8. Government advertisement after the re-establishment of peace in the Cotiote District :—

“Peace having been re-established in the Cotiote District Inhabitants of Cotiote may safely return and quietly live in their homes and there will be no impediment to their going, and coming, carrying and bringing, here and there, anything they chose ; the communication being again open, and free, as usual, between the said District and the rest of the Hon’ble Company’s Dominions in Malabar should any commit malpractices they shall have punishment from the Company inflicted on them, and if anyone crosses the River from the seacoast and without consent of the owner cuts down a tree or plucks the fruits of the Gardens, and carries them away, he shall also be punished”. (Dated, Tellicherry, the 23rd July, 1797).

SA. Letter from Governor Duncan and Stuart to Lt.-Col. Dow, dated, Tellierry, the 26th July, 1797.

Purport :—“Pyche Raja is no longer to exert any authority in the District” ;—proposal to give away that district to the Cotiote Rajah.

9. Memoranda for Colonel Dow’s Information and Guidance :—

“Colonel Dow should exert every nerve to surprise the person of Canote Numbyar, and take him, living or dead, as he is the primary and subsisting cause of all the present Disturbances, and alone prevents the Pyche Rajah from coming in, as the Governor has been well apprised by the agents of the Cherical Raja.

It ought to be also a constant object with Colonel Dow to seize on the person of the Pyche Raja, offering for him and for Canote Numbyar the rewards already specified in the Letter to the Colonel from the Commander-in-Chief, which if explained to the Moplahs may induce them to attempt surprizing either one or both of these Chief persons in the present rebellion.

The seizure in like manner of Kydere Amboo and of all the other headmen under the Pyche Raja are objects that Colonel Dow must never lose sight of, but steadily pursue by every means in his power”.

KALIKINKAR DATTA.

An Unpublished Persian Letter of Mir Qasim

SOME time back I discovered an unpublished Persian letter of Nawab Mir Qasim in a valuable collection of correspondence entitled (*Dastur-ul-impla* (1)), which is preserved in an old library at Patna City. This letter has not been as included in any of the compilation of contemporary documents, such as the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, *Vansittart's Narrative*, etc., and it certainly escaped the notice of the contemporary Bihar historian, Ghulam Husain, author of *Siyar-ul-mutakhirin*. It appears from a comparison of Kalyan Singh's *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh* with this letter, that it was probably consulted by him, as he uses certain terms and expressions exactly in the forms as they occur in this letter.

As we find from internal evidence in the letter, it was written by Mir Qasim, the expelled Nawab of Bengal, to the members of the Council in Calcutta, from Oudh after the death of Mir Jafar, which took place early in 1765, and in the 12th year of his expulsion from Bengal, that is, early in 1776 A.D. Though it contains a rather sketchy narrative of the transactions in Bengal from the Revolution of 1757 till the date of the writing of this letter, yet it is historically important as being a contemporary document regarding the relations among Mir Qasim, Mir Jafar, Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla of Oudh and the English. We get here also some new facts. As for example, it tells us of Mir Jafar's intrigues with the Company, through Ali Ibrahim Khan, Mir Sulaiman, Mirza Abu Mohammad and Niyamat Khan, against Mir Qasim after the latter had been installed as the Nawab ; of an attempt being made by Ali Beg Khan Kharji to poison Mir Qasim while he was in the camp of Shuja-ud-Dowla ; and of Mir Qasim's throwing the blame for the murder of Rajballabh and Ram Narain on Gurgin Khan but his admission of personal responsibility for the murder of the Jagat Seths, who, according to him, on their failure to satisfy him by an offer of 25 lacs of rupees tried to engage Mir Raushan Ali Khan through a bribe of Rs. 20 lacs to murder the Nawab and some of whose letters against the Nawab were intercepted by him (this fact is corroborated by the *Riyaz-us-salatin*). Mir Qasim further observes in this letter that his uncontrollable soldiers, particularly Sumru, were responsible for the massacre of the English prisoners at Patna, that Mir Jafar secretly incited Sumru to perpetrate this horrible deed with a view to create an unbridgeable gulf between the English and

(1) I have discussed the historical importance of this collection in another article to be published shortly in J. B. O. R. S.

Mir Qasim, and that this act had behind it the sanction of a firman of Emperor Shah Alam II.

English translation of "the copy of the letter, addressed by Mir Mohammad Qasim from Oudh to the Council at Calcutta, after his expulsion from the Subahs of Bengal and Bihar". (D. I, 61a—70a).

"God the Great has made the gentlemen (of the Council) just and of good disposition and endowed them with all the laudable virtues and, therefore, it behoves them to discriminate between truth and falsehood, and act accordingly. As regards my excessively distracted condition, God alone knows how they have represented it to the English Gentlemen, and, therefore, I have no remedy but to disclose it myself.

When the English killed Siraj-ud-Dowla, in retaliation for the destruction of (1) their factory, and installed Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan in his place, the latter having won their good graces by promising or offering to pay, in cash or kind, three crores of rupees (2), coined at Calcutta, possessed himself of all the wealth and treasures of Siraj-ud-Dowla and also made himself master of the whole country. It happened that Shah Alam invaded those lands. The *Mutasaddis* (clerks or accountants) of Bengal, habituated to misappropriate the things of others, deliberately created confusion, and, throwing the revenues in arrears, they subserved their own selfish purposes. Having kept the said Nawab and also the Christians in the dark as regards the total amount of Siraj-ud-Dowla's wealth, each one of them began to take it for himself like honey and milk. On account of the large increase in the military expenditure and his own extravagance, the said Nawab, who was totally devoid of ability and thrift, took upon himself the responsibility of paying three crores of rupees (3) as arrears due to the army, and forty lakhs as balance of the amount fixed up by the English. The soldiers bore patiently for 3 years but when they saw no other remedy, they all united and assembled before the palace, would not allow the Nawab to take his food and drink for 4 or 5 days, and began to abuse (4) him in unbecoming language.

When the English gentlemen saw the Nawab in such a sorry plight and began to apprehend something still worse, they told me that I should offer myself as a security for the arrears of the money. I had no remedy (5) but

(1) The capture of Kasimbazar Factory was followed by the plunder of Calcutta on June 20, 1756. M. R. B. 14.

(2) The treaty executed by Mir Jafar gives a different figure, V. N. 19-20. Mir Qasim, in another letter, found in V. N. III, 186, says that Mir Jafar became indebted for about 2 crores to his army, besides the debts owing to the Company.

(3) K. T. 85b. It is interesting to find that M. Kalyan Singh, the author of this work and almost a contemporary writer, not only gives the figure of 3 crores and 40 lakhs but supports practically the whole statement of Mir Qasim about the two Revolutions in Bengal in 1757, 1760. See also J. B. O. R. S., 1919-20.

(4) V. N. I, 35.

(5) It is significant that Mir Qasim makes no mention of his going to Calcutta and intriguing against his father-in-law, a fact found in S. M., R. S., M. N., & T. M. and even in K. T. 89a.

to intervene. Having taken out 4 or 5 lakhs of rupees from my own house (pocket) I paid the same to some men of the army, who had taken a leading part in the commotion, and having thus pacified them, caused them to raise the blockade of the Haveli. When the English gentlemen told Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan repeatedly that he should pay off the dues of the soldiers, for, it was at their instance that such and such a person, that is, I, had interfered in the affairs, and taken up the obligation of the Nawab, the latter paid no heed to their words, took the matter lightly and, in fact, ignored it altogether. At last when the soldiers saw that 3 or 4 months had passed by and nothing had been done towards the liquidation of their arrear pay, they inevitably approached me, and took me to the house (palace) of Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan. At the same time, from the other side the English too arrived there. Circumstances forced me to send a message (6) through the English to the Nawab that he should either pay up the dues of the soldiers or should place the rich Mutasaddis under my control so that I might realise the revenues due by means of blows and whips and pay up the salary of the soldiers and other dues. The same kind of questions and answers, replies and rejoinders, went on till 3 or 4 *pahars* of day (afternoon) and then the said Nawab sent one of his confidential servants with the message that he was ready to abandon the kingdom and proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, that I should do whatever I liked to manage the affairs and pay off the dues of the army and the money owing to the English from whatever source I could think of. Although I was not at all prepared to accept this suggestion, the English gentlemen succeeded by their excessive and earnest requests in throwing this unpleasant burden on my shoulders, and taking Nawab Mir Mahammad Jafar Khan along with them they left for Calcutta.

When the said Nawab saw that during a short time I had secured the tranquillity of my heart by paying off the importunate demands of the soldiers and the dues of the English, and had freed the country of all turbulent elements, his eyes were suddenly opened, especially when he was told about the existing situation and the (changed) state of the revenues of the kingdom. He was again seized with a desire to get back the subadari and (therefore) stirred up a hostility between me and the English. He (7) entered into a firm compact with those who were at Calcutta, and had arrived afresh from England as a result of changes and transfers of the members of the Council, which is a fixed rule among the English. It was thus that he caused a rupture between me and the English gentlemen. From this side Shuja-ud-

(6) According to K. T. 91b, it was at the suggestion of and not through the English, that such a message was sent.

(7) There is nothing unlikely in this statement, for which, however, we do not get any direct evidence. But Vansittart's observation is interesting in this connection. He was told that Col. Coote, Major Carnac, Mr. Amyatt, and Mr. Ellis had written against him to the Company; that they had sworn together to effect the restoration of Jfar Ali Khan; and that Mr. Fullerton had been despatched to England, to assist in the same design. V. N. III, 402.

Dowla (8) had advanced at the head of his army, towards the frontiers of Azimabad at the time Mr. Ellis made his night assault upon the fort (of Patna) when unexpectedly he heard of the defeat of the English and turned back. God and the Prophet know and will hear me out that the English people, without any justification, and against the advice (9) of Sham-sud-Dowla Bahadur (Mr. Vansistart) and Mr. Hastings, commenced the quarrel at the instigation of Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan. Moreover, although I wrote that now that the country had been cleaned of all thorns and rubbish and the dues of the English and the army had been paid off, the said Nawab was welcome (10) to the Subadaris and he should come and occupy it, the latter replied that I wanted to poison him to death or destroy him by some other methods. As regards the English they omitted all mention of these things and sent no reply at all. Ultimately they assaulted the fort of Azimabad and remained engaged in ravaging and plundering it and the city of Patna till three Pahars (in the afternoon) (11).

When the anxiety of the English became unmistakeable and public, I was compelled, in defence of my life and honour, and in order to draw out my family and dependents, to write to my Naib at Murshidabad and to other places that the English had unjustly shown hostility towards me and (therefore they should not allow access and egress to any individual amongst them. I also sent troops to passes and ferries, so that, till I went out beyond the frontiers of Bengal with my children and bag and baggage, they should engage the English in mock fights (Jang-i-zargari). As Mr. Amyatt, after permitting (12) the people of Azimabad factory to fight and deliver night assaults; had taken departure from me, it did not occur to me that 10 days (13) after he had set out for Calcutta he was still staying on the way to hear of the news of the victory at Azimabad. Despite this overt hostility he still wished to proceed towards Calcutta by passing through the crowd

(8) This is another entirely new information which lacks corroboration from other sources. There is ample evidence, however, of the ambitious designs of the Nawab-Vazir of Oudh on these rich provinces of Behar and Bengal. His eagerness to fish in the troubled waters of Bengal and Bihar a legacy from his father, his hatred for Mir Qasim and the ready excuse of regulating the affairs of the frontier regions which adjoined those of Bihar, suggest the probability of the event. Some of the letters in C. P. C. definitely state that he moved as far as Handia and Swajpur but when the news of the English victory at Udaynala reached him, he retired to Allahabad. I, 256.

(9) V. N. III, 253, 284, 387, 391 etc.

(10) The letters of Mir Qasim, available in C. P. C. & V. N. do not support this statement, though frequently, in fits of pique, he was ready to retire in favour of his alleged oppressors. V. N. I, 200.

(11) According to Karam Ali the men of Mr. Ellis after capturing the fort became intoxicated and began to plunder the city. M. N. 172a.

(12) The author of Siyar, a friend of Mr. Amyatt, practically confirms this. S. M. 725. It is 'the sordid and selfish majority' of the Council which really precipitated the struggle by giving Mr. Ellis a free hand in the matter of assault on the Patna citadel. M. C. I. See also T. M. O. K. T. about Mir Qasim's belief in such an instigation.

(13) 'Amyatt and his party left Mongher on June 24, provided with a passport granted by the Nawab'. They were murdered on July 3, 1763, at Murshidabad. M. Q. 217-18.

of my own people. He might have taken the route through Jhellangi (14) but he failed to do so. On account of the orders they have received they did not leave him. The people of Murshidabad also set up a blockade and began to plunder the factory.

When the English heard that their men had been thus defeated they did not ponder over the matter and without remonstrating with me, they suddenly restored and reinstated Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan as the Subadar of Bengal and also fell upon me during the rainy season. I wrote to Major Adams who was coming at the head of the English army that his fellow men were alive (15) and they would be made over to some one whom he might send for the purpose. The Major replied that it did not matter much whether those men were dead or alive but that I must (16) get out of the kingdom and in case I failed to do so he would not let me off.

When the letter of Major Adams reached me I had no remedy but to lay it before the chiefs of my army and ask them as to what they deemed advisable in the matter. All my Sardars (17), having become despaired of the friendship of the English, replied:—"A battle appears to be inevitable whether you wish it or not, and the fire of hostility has no chance of being extinguished. We, men of Hindustan, are not expert in fighting with fire, guns and cannon. By the grace of God we have made these people captive after risking our lives. You want to show your friendship by liberating them and again you will send us to the mouth of their cannon. What should we live for when there is no hope of peace and restoration of friendship?" Much as they entreated them they would not listen to my suggestions. In reply they said that one Englishman was equal to one thousand Indians in courage and in the effective use of artillery and that it was difficult to get the better of them in an engagement and (therefore) they would not allow them to remain alive. Accordingly Sumru, the chief of the Tellingas, killed each one of them.

When the men of my army saw that the fighting with the English had proved a costly one they deemed it prudent to take me to Shuja-ud-Dowla after entering into a solemn agreement with him. But they subsequently

(14) Jhellangi is the name of a river which is really a part of river Padma.

(15) This is not true though in the letter, which is fortunately available to us (C. P. C. I, p. 239), he disclaimed all responsibility for the killing of Mr. Amyatt, he threatened Major Adams to "cut off the heads of Mr. Ellis and the rest of the English chiefs and send them to him".

(16) Here again we meet with a wrong statement. The Major wrote "... You have Mr. Ellis, and many other gentlemen in your power; if a hair of their heads is hurt, you can have no title to mercy from the English, and you may depend upon the utmost fury of their resentment". (M. N. III, 374.)

(17) The author of the Siyar, and Mir Qasim's best friend, Ali Ibrahim Khan were, however, opposed to this highly impolitic step, and the latter actually interceded on behalf of the English prisoners and solicited their release. S. M. 738. Dr. Fullerton was saved because of their influence.

struck (18) a bargain with him and involved me into an unfortunate situation, for shortly afterwards Shuja-ud-Dowla became an ally of the English.

I, who had made a world of men hostile to myself by refraining from showing concession or favour to any one, and who never intrigued with any person, actually involved myself in moil and toil, during night and day, and by the grace of God regulated the confused and disturbed affairs of that country within a short time. I had been counting upon the support and friendship of the English gentlemen thinking that they appreciate merit, exercise forethought, and are wisdom personified and (therefore) they would recognise the just claims of their well-wishers. How the affairs were confused and entangled is quite evident on one side there was the inexorable demand for the arrear pay of the soldiers, amounting to not less than three crores of rupees, and there was also the balance of the money due to the Company. How had the soldiers behaved themselves towards the deceased Nawab, Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan. If I, the ignorant one, had not taken up the heavy burden on my shoulders, circumstances might have been different. Being forced by necessity, and keeping in view the honour of the parties concerned, and giving way before the request and solicitations of the English I undertook the task of lifting the veil off (exposing) those in power. Having ruined the whole of my house and taking what happened to be the will of God, I resigned myself to my lot. Now that it is twelve years (19) since I left the place of my nativity, which had been the residence of my family for a century, to the English and have chosen the life of a wandering exile, I thought that the English in whose character equity and justice are inherent would not deviate from the paths of right nor withhold their appreciation of merits. Being happy and contented with such an idea I am passing the nights and days of my borrowed life in continuous prayer to God and in remembering the friendship of the English and solemnly declare that I have no futile plan (20) nor evil design even in my imagination. Till now, wherever I happen to go, I am continually engaged in repeating the praises of the English while they, on their part, are always after doing harm to me, the resourceless and helpless one. I do venture to hope from the old friendship of the English that they would not ignore the services of this sinner through the representation of malicious and interested agitators and the pondering a little in their pure heart over it they would not shut their eyes to the demands of justice and equity.

Gentlemen, if at the first instance you had not entered into an agreement with regard to the three Mahals of Maidnepur, Burdwan and

(18) This is applicable at least to Sumru who mutinied against his master and took service under Shuja-ud-Dowla. S. M. 755.

(19) The letter, addressed by Mir Qasim to Col. Stibbert, in April 1776, also speaks of this period of 12 years. (P. I. H. R. C. X.)

(20) An idea of such pains and designs may be had from the numerous letters in the C. P. C. and also from two papers, one in P. I. H. R. C. and another in *Calcutta Review*, May, 1935. By 1776, however, the ex-Nawab of Bengal may have realised the futility of such things.

Chatgaon (21), and kept into your consideration the performance of this sinner nothing would have been neglected or omitted or even occurred, except what is the way of submission and service. The fact is that truth and straightfrowardness are innate to us and I am not familiar with fraud and betrayal. I did not withhold, like Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan, such trifling things as stone, clay, wood (22) and limes nor did I demand back the Chaklas of Burdwan. I also did not invite the Dutch through the Bugoss tribe (of Malaya) to fight against the English. On the other hand, I paid off all the arrears of the Company which were due from the Nawab, in accordance with the promises made. Whatever happened on my part was due to my helplessness and powerlessness. The power-seeking soldiery of Hindustan gets out of control at the slightest disturbance, a fact which is evident from the timely information I always gave about it. I hope that all the letters written by me, your friend, may have been preserved, both in originals and their copies, amongst the documents of the Council.

You know that even since I assumed authority over that kingdom, some English gentlemen commenced quarrel of their own accord and began discussion in such a manner as goes directly against the decorum of friendship. They supported and protected (23) those who had been in the habit of safeguarding and gulping down their throat the whole revenue and income of that kingdom. And such men were subject to my jurisdiction. However, despite these ups and downs and impossible situation I put off the trouble till two years and half, thanks to the equitable disposition of some of the English gentlemen.

If the English gentlemen had sent their mind on the absorption of the land, why did they allow so many lives to be lost? I had repeatedly entreated and written to the gentlemen of that time that if they were resolved upon displacing me, the weak one, instead of giving a bad name to their friend, they were quite welcome to entrust the charge of that kingdom which had been freed from my chiefs and disturbance, into the hands of any one whom they deemed to be more trustworthy. I was also prepared to bring together all the papers of the kingdom which I had set right, and then by making them over to anyone who was suggested for the purpose. I should

(21) In a letter addressed to the Company, dated April 21, 1763, Mir Qasim writes "exclusive of the ready money, offices, lands and the farm of saltpetre given by the Nabob Mir Jafar Cawn, I assigned three districts, which produced an income of fifty lacs of rupees for the charges of the forces of the Company; that they might collect the rents as they pleased . . . and when called upon afford me assistance". V. N. III., 189.

(22) Mir Jafar, in a letter to the Board, dated Sept. 14, 1764, called upon the English to abandon the wood farm belonging to Purneah paying a tribute of 50,000 rupees (C. P. C. 337). Mir Qasim says in two of his letters that the English could not get even ten or twenty timbers from Chuttagong to build their houses with 'even so recently as the time of Mir Jafar' (C. P. C. I, 203).

(23) Obviously the ex-Nawab refers to person like Raya Ram Narain and others. It is interesting to find Gholam Husain quoting Mr. Amyatt, who confessed that he had no love for the said Raja but supported him because of his opposition to Vansitart and his nominee, Mir Qasim. S. M. 706.

clean my hands off everything regarding the settlement of friendly accounts. The English gentlemen, however, did not accept my suggestion. Ultimately matters reached their limits, so much so that, on one side, the Naibs and Amils were put in chains and fetters and were struck down, and on the other, they commenced night assault (24) and lifting the veil of unity and concord, they wanted to deal with me, the weak one, openly. Feeling helpless, and being driven by necessity to safeguard my life and honour I gave up the idea of staying in that kingdom and wrote to Major Adams, who had taken the command of the army and arrived so far as Nala Udhva, apologizing and signifying my readiness to transfer the custody of Mr. Ellis and others. The Major replied in a strain which was improper and unworthy of a chief like him, saying that there were many English men in his country and that he cared a jot about my captives whom I might treat as I liked.

As regards the Nawab who had developed a bad feeling towards me because of his anxiety to please the English, he wrote to each one of my chiefs through Ibrahim (25) Ali Khan and Sulaiman (26) inducing and tempting them to devise some means whereby the Englishmen who had been captured should be all put to death so that the path of compromise with the English might be closed. On the other side, Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla had sent a Ferman (27) of King Shah Alam, bearing his auspicious seal, exhorting the writer to kill the English wherever they were found. The copy of the Ferman under the seal of the Qazi(?) is sent herewith. The copies of the letters between me and Major Adams will be found in the records office of the Council and also of those of correspondence exchanged (28) secretly with the deceased Nawab (Mir Jafar) through Sulaiman and Shitab Rai. On Gurgin Khan being killed on one of those days, the Command of the Tellingas fell into the hands of Samru. The man, who was false to the salt that he ate finding himself placed in power,

(24) Mir Qasim in a letter, dated 28 June, 1763 writes "like a night robber Mr. Ellis assaulted the Kila of Patna; robbed and plundered the Bazar and all the merchants and inhabitants of the city, ravaging and slaying from morning to the third Pahar" U. N. III, 330. Vansittart has the frankness to admit that we were the aggressors by the assault of the city of Patna will not be disputed". V. N. III, 387.

(25) Besides the lack of any corroborative evidence for this charges, the fact is well established that if Mir Qasim had any really sincere and wise friend and counsellor, it was Ali Ibrahim Khan who "clung to his old master with a fidelity uncommon in those treacherous days".

(26) This man, the High Steward of Mir Qasim, who escorted his master's family and treasures to Rohtas (KT) and who was sent to King and the Wazir to procure their assurance of protection in 1763 (C. P. C. I, 295) ultimately deserted the ex-Nawab and joined Shuja-ud-Dowla (S. M. 7, 58).

(27) This is a startling statement. It is unfortunate that all trace of such a Firman, if it existed at all, is lost. •

(28) We have got proofs of the intrigues carried on against Mir Qasim at the court of the King and Shuja-ud-Dowla by Mr. Ellis and Major Carnac through Raja Shitab Rai and his son Kalyan Singh. V. N. III, 400-01; C. P. C. I, 256; K.T. gives a detailed account of the secret transaction. See also J. B. O. R. S.

retired into an agreement with the faithless Sulaiman. This Perfidious (29) Sulaiman had been in collusion and secret communication with the deceased Nawab and Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla. The accursed Samru was not such a functionary as not to think that if the good feelings between me and the English were to be restored I(?) would come into possession of so much money and effects and would no longer remain under his influence and, therefore, it was better that the English should be put to death so that he might himself become the owner of the fire guns and artillery.

In short, first the faithless Sulaiman and then Ibrahim Ali Khan became the vanguard in the ruination of my house. Having seduced a whole world of men and made them subject to their wishes, they destroyed everything which belonged to me and having settled their own business they followed their respective paths.

When the reply of Major Adams proved to be absolutely disappointing and I found no other remedy from any quarter I assumed silence. The ungrateful and perfidious Samru, having made the Ferman of Shah Alam as his Charter of authority killed the English prisoners in order to create disturbance and disorder, and having instigated and taken me to Shuja-ud-Dowla, he caused the lesolation an ruination of my whole house.

It is evident to everybody that I committed no fault in any way and that all these mischiefs and disturbances had been raised by the faithless Sulaiman and Ibrahim Ali Khan. These disloyal men guided up their loins of malice, without any justification, in order to oppress me. What unworthy (30) action they were not guilty of in the camp of Shuja-ud-Dowla. They were not wanting even in shedding blood. A little of such things is apparent from the fact that one day while I was in the camp of the said Nawab (Shuja-ud-Dowla), poisoned grapes wer served before me through Ali Beg (31) Khan Kharji. As the bringer of the grapes had been an old man of family, he whispered to my ears that they should not be taken. The news of this having reached Ali Beg Khan, the latter killed the poor fellow and hacked him to pieces. It was through the entreaties and solicitations of Khaja Pedros (Petrus) and Gurgin Khan, extending over a year, that the department of the household expenses (house stewardship) (32) had been allotted to that detestable and ungrateful wretch. In fact the two wicked men inveigled and won over all the subordinate officers. Sulaiman carried the money and effects to Rohtas (33) and making Ibrahim Ali Khan his inspiring genius left him near me. There he practically killed the poor Raja Naubat

(29) His perfidy was discovered when it was too late. But there is yet no proof of his collusion with Mir Jafar.

(30) The ex-Nawab certainly met with insults and indignities in the Camp of Shuja-ud-Dowla but at least Ali Ibrahīm Khan's behaviour was above suspicion. (S. M.)

(31) An officer of the Wazir and a channel of communication with Mir Jafar and the English (C. P. C.). According to Karam Ali Beg Khan Kharji was put in charge of the fort of Allahabad but he surrendered it to Raja Shitab Rai. M. N. 146C.

(32) This is a new information.

(33) K. T., J. B. O. R. S., S. M. 733-734.

Rai (34) by inducing him to take a medicine which was a preparation of iron, as a cure for cough and asthma. Thereafter, the Keeper of the Jewel-office was put on a pony with all the documents pertaining to the treasury, and he was thus made to effect his escape. Habibullah Khan, the Cash-keeper, was also poisoned to death by some means. Having kept him confined within the mansion of the store-room and jewel office for a whole day and night, 17 small bags (35) of jewels which were sealed with gum lac were opened with fire being applied to the sealing wax. The choicest jewels were picked out and precious goods and rare articles were taken up, loaded on 3 elephants and taken to Benares one month before my arrival there. God is my witness that I have not deviated a hairbreadth from truth. You may investigate into the truth in any way you please. Granted that the faithless Sulaiman shows the receipt of Sandal Ali Khan, the eunuch, but even this is a proof positive of his fraud. Why did he make over such costly riches to the eunuch without my permission?

Ibrahim Ali Khan need to intrigue and keep up correspondence through Mirza Abu Mohammad, Son-in-law of Mirza Iraj Khan (36). Sometimes letters were sent through Mirza Abu Mohammad to Ibrahim Ali Khan (37) and the faithless Sulaiman and sometimes it was done through Mohammad Niamat, the bearer of the pen case, who used to come to my camp in the guise of a fakir. All those devices and plans were hatched for the sake of the son (38) of a dancing girl who had been taken into his (Mir Jafar's) harem without *Nikah* or even *Motah* (39). The late Nawab was devoid of all sense of justice and equity, and being lost in the sleep of negligence, he felt no concern with the world and its vicissitudes except as a spectator. If I had possessed in him (40) an elderly appreciative relation, I would not have been reduced to such straits.

The execution of Raj Ballabh (41), Ram Narain and others, was due to the advice of Gurgin Khan but that of Jagat Seth and Maharaja Sawrup

(34) He was the trusted Diwan of Mir Qasim who also made him Naib of Patna for a short time. It was under his escort and that of Mir Sulaiman that the Nawab sent his family and treasures to Rohtas (Ibid).

(35) The details are nowhere to be found and appear to be very interesting. The author of the *seyar*, however, speaks of the perfidious embezzlement of the Nawab's Jewels by Sulaiman. S. M. 744.

(36) This man was the father-in-law of Siraj-ud-Dowlah and a friend and supporter of his overthrowers, the English and Mir Jafar. He was certainly hostile to Mir Qasim and was appointed Naib of Murshidabad after the overthrow of the latter.

(37) These informations, if true, will lead us to revise our opinion about some of the personalities and the events of the period.

(38) This obviously refers to the illegitimate son of Mir Jafar who actually succeed him because of the death of Meeran.

(39) Temporary marriage according to Shia law.

(40) Mir Jafar refused to accept him as his Naib, as proposed by Vansittart and he was always mistrustful of his son-in-law.

(41) The following remark of Kalyan Singh is worth our notice "Being revengeful and suspicious in the extreme, he (Mir Qasim) resolved to put the Indians to death. But in spite of the suggestion of Gurgin Khan, Englishmen who were kept in custody, were

Chand was at my instance and orders. The reason is that one day they came to me and offered me a note of hand or cheque for 25 lakh of rupees (42) as a profit of the income of the Mahals or Sarkar by way of present. I tore that note into pieces and said:—"I have nothing to do with it. The only thing I want is that you should live in concord and amity and avoid enkindling the fire of enmity between me and the English, nay extinguish it if it brake out. The moment I leave these climes they (the English) would not let me alive, so that I may wander from one region to another and they (the Seth) "might enjoy and take rest in their Aish Mahal and Jawahir Mahal". When several of their letters (43) were intercepted and a sum of rupees 20 lakhs, sent to Mir Raushan (44) Ali Khan for killing me, was discovered, I had no alternative but to issue orders for their execution. If both these men had not been killed it would have been very difficult for me to escape alive from that place. Even a span of ground was not left where they did not lay thorns for me. As my borrowed life had not yet come to a close, fate led me to despatch to the hells these two wretches who had destroyed a world and whose cunning manoeuvre and intrigues had caused the death of so many subahdars (45).

What causes surprise to me is that that although by the grace of God I sent to the hells so many traitorous usurpers and fomenters of strife and although I removed the rubbish and thorns of that kingdom to win the good will and for the sake of the English gentlemen of equitable disposition, the latter have proclaimed their friend to be a 'tyrant' while they never used such a term in the case of Nawab Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan who had shed innocent blood under their direct protection. If Siraj-ud-Dowla and his brothers have to be left out of consideration, for they were opponents and rival claimants, what for did the English tolerate the murder of those who had committed no fault? The poor Fakhrut-Tujjar (46) was no better than a merchant and had not the ghost of a claim to sovereignty. What fault did he commit that he was killed? Further, why were some women (47),

left unmolested as a precautionary measure". (K. T., J. B. O. R. S.). The complicity of Gurgin Khan is also borne out by Seyar. "Gurgin Khan advised speed in the matter of their execution too". S. M. 734.

(42) This is also quite a new information.

(43) The author of Reyaz confirms this when he speaks of Jagat Seth as "the plotter of the treacherous conspiracy" and as one who had sent out secret message inviting Jafar Ali Khan and the Christian English, and whose treasonable correspondence had been intercepted. R. S. 396.

(44) He was one of the Commander of Mir Qasim (C. P. C. I, 262).

(45) History is quite full with the prominent part played by the members of the Seth family almost in all the revolutions of Bengal in the 18th Century.

(46) Khaja Wajid, was so called because of his great mercantile business. At one time a friend of the English, he later became one of their inveterate foes. Karam Ali supports Holwell in that it was Fakhrut-Tujjar who advised and actually conducted negotiations with the Dutch of Batavia in 1758. We also read about the confinement of Fakhrut-Tujjar at Calcutta and his death at Hugli. (M. N. 11a; V. N. I, 50.)

(47) This refers to the diabolical murder of the daughters of Alivardi at the instance of Meeran in 1758 (S. M. 689).

who had no capacity to do this thing and that, so ignominiously drowned to death? Again, Mir Mohammad Kazim Khan (48), who was a genuine Syed and one of his own community, was also not spared ; so also is the case of Shaikh Abdul Wahab Khan (49) and others. Similarly if you do desire, I can prepare a regular list of names and send it to you. As for myself, I should really feel repentent if I had killed any one without sufficient caution and evidence, in accordance with the Koranic injunctions. Gentlemen! As regards those who were actually executed (50) at my orders, I risked my bad reputation only for the sake of the English. Having purged that kingdom of all thorns and rubbish to win the good will of the English I quitted the land.

You might have heard of the situation in which Colonel Clive, Sabit Jung, found himself, when Raja Ram Narain took him to Bhojpur. What did he accomplish before he left? Having brought him to a hillock, known as Makraikoh, he caused 200 pieces (51) of fire locks to be carried away by thieves, and having exposed him to the inconveniences of the hot weather for one and a half month he spoilt the powder and ammunition of the English. And then he looked afflicted and disappointed. Every one of the traitor used to laugh at the English when I lifted the veil off the whole affair.

It is the usage of the world that whoever gains name and fame and acquires wealth and affluence, he does so for the sake of his children and family and for his own bodily comfort, otherwise such wealth full of misery evils is of no use (52). Would that I, a weak ant that I am, had known that the English Gentlemen would throw the whole blame of that kingdom on my shoulders and after the regulation of the confused affairs of that land, they would not consider my friendship as a mirror of purity and sincerity, but leave all the disorder and calamity for me, the weak one, and after driving me from the kingdom, they would render me an exile from my own home, as if of all the small and the big, young and the elderly of that land they could fix their choice upon me alone, the unworthy one, only to fling me aside like flies in the honeyed milk!

As regards the pillars of state of that place, every one of them, though laying claim to wisdom and talents for accounts, has been really working (53) on the plans laid down and devised by me, the ignorant one. Why did those skilful functionaries of the age who were expert in everything, that is Rajballabh, Raja Dullabh Ram, Raja Ram Narain, Ray-i-Rayan, Jagat Setha

(48) S. M. 652. V. N. 152.

(49) V. N. I, 152.

(50) A brief list is available in M. N. 163b.

(51) This is another instance of a new and, perhaps, an exaggerated and distorted Version of Clive's expedition against the Rajputs and 'hilly chiefs of Shahabad' in 1759. There is nothing improbable, however, in Bhojpuris stealing the guns and Clive conveniently ignoring the incident in his *Memoirs*. (M. C. I.)

(52) The Persian text here is rather vague.

(53) This is too bold a claim to be accepted though the financial and administrative abilities of Mir Qasim have been testified to by even his enemies.

etc., who had been the centres of affairs during the regime of Mahabat Jung and Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan and who, with the connivance of Ray-i-Rayan, used to swallow down their throat half of the collection of that kingdom, so that all their wealth was derived from the Sarkars of the Nazims of those lands,—why did such people not anticipate and excel me, the unworthy one, and why did they not show their talents in accounts and establish their reputation for business ability and skill? After the kingdom had been purified of all thorns and rubbish and the corrupt emezzers had been exposed, they beat the drum of their financial ability by taking their stand upon the assessment and collection of revenue fixed up by me.

I, the sinner, had been brought forward only for the purpose of diminishing hostility of Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan which had caused a disturbance in the affairs of the Company. The late Nawab on finding himself installed in the kingdom through the recommendation (54) and command of the English gentlemen, spoilt his comforts and contrived to displace the English from power. He demanded back Burdwan which he had ceded for 1 crore of rupees and he used to grant dastaks for lime, timber (55) and forests with a rueful face and by a hesitating hand. Moreover, he had summoned the Dutch through the Bugoss (56) tribe and he was always planning (57) that the English should have no power to keep the kingdom under their control, and their influence should be gradually wiped out. On the other hand, I, the weak one, organized such a military force only to protect my life and honour and had never intrigued with the Dutch, the French or the Deccanis (Marhattas) and was never busy in planning for the expulsion of the English. Rather, I was always their protector and supporter as far as I could and whatever promise I made I duly fulfilled it and was never guilty of breach of faith. When hostilities were committed and repeated by the English I had no remedy but to get out of the kingdom. I escaped slowly and in the rainy season to one of my compatriots.

Whatever happened from my side was due to my helplessness and want of any other remedy for I had lost all comfort over my disloyal army. Still I had informed Major Adams of my helpless condition and remonstrated much with my turbulent and noisy people and hesitated (58) in giving orders

(54) It is practically the English who secured firman and sanads for their nominee whom they supported by their arms and diplomacy.

(55) Vide above.

(56) M. N. 141a. "The Bukkas Warrior resident in the kingdom of Pegu."

(57) Mir Jafar was certainly growing restive under the thralldom of the English. He gave vent to his inner feeling when he openly regretted the defeat of the Wazir at Buxar as the last blow to the honour and reputation of the Indians. See also the Introduction to Vol. III of C. P. C. p. IXn.

(58) As already remarked above. Mir Qasim had at first gone so far as to disregard the evil advice of Gurgin Khan to murder the English prisoners. If the situation had been handled tactfully, perhaps, the worst might not have happened. The version in Seyer that the councillors at Calcutta wrote that if Mir Qasim were to kill even hundred of such persons, they would not think of anything but revenge for Amiyatt's murder is supported by the proceedings of the Consultation and also by what Vansittart wrote to

for the execution of the English prisoners. When the letter of Major Adams, and the Ferman of Shah Alam and the secret letters of the late Nawab reached the hands of the erroneous, rebellious people they pressed me and did what they deemed advisable for their own selfish ends (59) and thus threw the blame for the blood of the English on me, the sinner.

Let the English gentlemen of just and equitable disposition weigh the whole thing and render justice, for, I, the sinner, never killed treacherously any one during the days of my authority and power, by deluding him with false words and pledges. When thousands of people including Muslims, on both sides, fell dead, during this domestic struggle, how can the claim for the blood be put forward by any one party? If you forgive and draw the pen of pardon (across the past) it can not but enhance your reputation for Magnanimity. The pleasure felt in forgiveness is absent in retaliation. However, you are the master of your will. I have no other desire except to pacify the English gentlemen and purify their mind of ill-will. If you put me in possession of a small thing in the shape of a jagir or land in Aima (fiefs) dwelling houses, gardens, and a burial place, I shall deem it to be a great favour. I shall send one of my children (60) from here to the English gentlemen so that he may always remain in thier presence and receive his education under their supervision. If I feel composed and collected in my mind and am at ease I shall myself seek the honour of an interview with the English gentlemen and derive benefits from them. If you do not approve of it, I shall have to give up all hopes, and shall act in accordance with the saying 'Fly to God'. God's kingdom is not narrow and circumscribed and and my legs are also not lame."

S. H. ASKARI.

the Nawab on Sept. 17, 1763. "The honour of our nation and the interest of our Company will not be sacrificed to this consideration nor the operation of our army stopped". But Vansittart was helpless. (S. M. 729; V. N. III, 371.)

(59) Mir Qasim writes in another letter quoted in C. R., May, 1935. "He had lost all control over his army. A conspiracy was set on foot by designing persons who had chosen to join Mir Jafar, Sumru, the German who was appointed to the command of the army after Gurgin Khan, contrived with Mir Mahommad Jafar about the assassination of the English prisoners, the object being to create an unsuperable barrier between him and the English."

(60) This was a sincere gesture of good will which unfortunately appears to have remained unheeded. Mir Qasim died penniless on the 7th June, 1777 in the city of Delhi. He could be buried only when the King sent Rs. 200/- for the purpose (K. T. 137). As regards his 7 sons, they were presented by Ali Ibrahim Khan to Governor W. Hastings, who fixed some allowance for each one of them and allowed them to reside at Benares. Their descendants are still found in that sacred city in a rather abject condition.

The Resident at the Durbar (Moorshedabad)

His Position and Functions (1765-1772)

THE object of this paper (1) is to describe the position and functions of the East India Company's Resident at the Court of the Nawab of Bengal at Moorshedabad, as these were chiefly during the period from 1765 to 1772. This officer was always referred to in contemporary official documents of the Company as "the Resident at the Durbar". His office was one of the most important and onerous ones in the service of the Company in the early days of British Rule in Bengal. It was even regarded by some as "inferior only to that of the President" of Fort William. (2) Both the Treaty of 10th July, 1763, with Meer Jaffier (3) and the Treaty which the Nawab Nudjum Ul Dowla (4) executed on 25th February, 1765, provided for the appointment of "an English gentleman" to reside with the Nawab, wherever the latter might be, for the transaction of all affairs between the Nawab and the Company. Even before 1763 a Resident would be appointed in the Nawab's Court. Thus Warren Hastings was once appointed Resident at the Durbar "in the room of Mr. Scrafton" in 1758 ; (5) and referring to the arduous and varied nature of

(1) This paper is based mainly upon manuscript records, in most cases hitherto unpublished, in the Imperial Record Office of the Government of India.

For instance, in a letter to the Governor and Council at Fort William, "dated Emeer Cawn's, the 6th December 1766", Colonel Richard Smith said :

"The Residency at the Durbar, upon its present system, is most undoubtedly the Post of so much Importance on the Civil Establishment, as to be inferior only to that of the President".—See Home Department (Fort Wm.). O.C. No. 7, 28th December, 1768.

(2) We also find in paragraph 97 of the General Letter to the Court of Directors dated at Fort William 2nd February, 1769, that the Council (at Fort William) had even appointed once a Deputy-Resident at the Durbar with a view to relieving the Resident of a part of his heavy duties. The paragraph says :—

"As we were also of opinion that a Deputy Resident would be of essential service to your affairs and would greatly contribute to the Relief of the Resident in the Duties of his laborious Employment—and as the Knowledge Mr. Robert Maddison has acquired of the Persian Language in which most of the Dewany accounts are kept and the manner of transacting Business with the Natives will afford him an opportunity of being more serviceable to you in this station than his present one we have appointed him to it".

(3) Meer Jafar.

(4) Najm-ud-Daula.

(5) See Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, 1841, Vol. 'I, pp. 54-55.

his duties one (6) of his biographers has said that he "collected, with infinite difficulty, a considerable portion of the outstanding balances that were due from Meer Jaffier to the Company ; he put down, by the exercise of a sound discretion, more than one tumult in the city ; he conducted many delicate negotiations both with the Nabob and his great officers of state, so as to call for the warm approbation of the Council, etc." (7) Indeed, the Resident was the "sole agent" of the Company for transacting all its business at the Durbar. And he had there, as Mr. Verelst (8) once said in 1768 in another connexion, (9) "an opportunity of discovering the Tempers, the Dispositions, and the particular characters not only of the Nabob and of his ministry, but even of every person of any note or consideration in this kingdom" ; and would, because of his position, be "either engaged in, or . . . privy to all political Transactions" in the Nawab's Court. In view of the importance of his office, the Court of Directors has written (10) to the Governor and Council on 24th December, 1765, that if it was really necessary to have a Resident at the Durbar then they must "choose him, not by seniority in the service, but by an established Character for Integrity, Abilities and a knowledge of the Country Language". (11) And in a previous letter (12) the Court had written to the President and Council :—

"It is always necessary that a Civil Servant of Rank should reside on the Company's behalf at the Durbar, agreeable to the Treaty with the present Nabob. In this appointment the abilities and Qualifications of the Person

(6) The Rev. G. R. Gleig.

(7) See Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, Vol. I. p. 52.

(8) Governor and President of Bengal from after the departure of Clive in January, 1767, till December, 1769. Mr. Verelst "resigned the government of Bengal, December 24th, 1769". See Verelst, *A View of the Rise, etc. of the English Government in Bengal*, App. p. 120, footnote.

(9) In connexion with the question whether the second member of the Council at Fort William should remain at the Presidency or be permitted to fill any vacancy that might occur elsewhere. See Home Department (Fort William) O.C. No. 9, dated 28th Dec. 1768.

(10) See the Court's General Letter to Bengal, dated 24th December, 1765.

(11) This is what the Court of Directors wrote in this connexion :—

"Whenever you think it really necessary to have a Resident at the Durbar, we direct you to choose him, not by seniority in the service, but by an established Character for Integrity, Abilities and a knowledge of the Country Language. We understand he is to be the sole agent for transacting all Business at the Durbar, and direct the copy of his correspondence with the Nabob or his officers, with the Presidency and chiefs of the subordinates, officers of the army or Civil Servants on public affairs be transmitted to us annually in Duplicate . . . as we leave the nomination of this officer to you, it behoves you to have a constant Eye to his Behaviour, as we shall deem you in a particular manner responsible to us for his conduct".—See the Court's General Letter to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, Dated 24th December, 1765, para. 64. Also see the Court's letter to the Select Committee at Fort William, dated 21st November, 1766, para. 9.

(12) See the Court's General Letter to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated 15th February, 1765, para. 69.

should be chiefly regarded, and we suppose you had these in view in the choice of our present Resident Mr. Watts" (13)

The varied nature of the duties of the Resident would be evident from the following extracts from the instructions which the President and Council at Fort William issued to him on 29th May and 13th December, 1764. On 29th May, 1764, they wrote (14) to Mr. Batson who had been "appointed to attend constantly at the Nabob's Court":

"As the constant attention Major Carnac is at present obliged to pay to the motions of the Enemy and the operations of our own army may prevent him from obtaining and sending us the necessary information of what passes at the Nabob's Court, we have thought proper to appoint you resident at the Durbar. We direct therefore that you enter upon this office immediately on receipt hereof *transmitting to us daily advice of every thing that occurs.* (15)

"By the enclosed copies of some Letters which have passed between the Nabob and Suja Dowla, Beny Bahadre and others You'll perceive that Terms have been proposed for a negociation but we have yet heard nothing on this subject from the Major—We must desire you will inform yourself as far as you can discover, what may be the Nabob's motives and views in such a scheme, and what steps have been taken in it—For our own part we are resolved to enter into no Treaty with Shuja Dowla unless Meer Cossim, Sombre and our Deserters be first put into our hands as a preliminary. You will therefore acquaint the Nabob that this is Our Resolution assuring him we will accede to no Treaty he may make on any other Terms

"We have only further to recommend to you *the greatest vigilance and attention* and to desire that you will be particularly careful in conducting yourself towards the Nabob, in order to preserve as great a confidence as possible between his and our Governments".

And in their letter to Mr. Samuel Middleton, dated at Fort William 13th December, 1764, the President and Council wrote (16):—

"The Nabob having set out for Moorshedabad you will agreeably to your appointment proceed thither, attend him as Resident at his Durbar—*In this Capacity you must in General keep us constantly advised of all such material Transactions, & occurrences, as may come to your knowledge, being for that purpose extremely vigilant & attentive,* (17) and make to the Nabob from

(13) It may be noted here that the Resident at the Durbar was appointed by the President and Council at Fort Wm. But sometimes, as in the case of the appointment of Mr. Francis Sykes as Resident at the Durbar, the Select Committee at Fort William would take the initiative in the matter and make recommendation therefor to the Council (at Fort William).—See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, of 5th October, 1765, and 4th January, 1769.

(14) See Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William, 29th May, 1764.

(15) The italics are ours.

(16) See Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William, 13th December, 1764; also Secret Letter to Court dated at Fort William 6th February, 1765.

(17) The italics are ours.

time to time such Representations from us as you may be instructed—The principal objects of your attention at present are the following—

"The procuring regular payment of the five Laaks per month granted by the Nabob towards defraying the Expences of the War with Shuja Dowla agreeably to the writing (18) passed by him the Nabob while he was here and you will find him of course at Moorshedabad desirous of putting a speedy period to the Continuance of this monthly payment ; He even thought the Defeat of the Vizier at Buxar should have been this period ; He is well acquainted with our sentiments on this subject, and that We mean not to exact such assistance from him longer that the War subjects us to so heavy an Expense, and as soon as we can reduce this with Propriety & Prudence in Respect to the Safety of our Possession, We shall think it but just to relieve him also, agreeably to the Tenor of his Grant. In the meantime, & till you have other Directions from us, you will continue to press these Payments in the strongest Terms, causing the Amount of the Tuncaw on the naib at Moorshedabad to pass as hitherto through the Hands of the Gentlemen at Cossimbazar who will account with us for the same. The second point which you have now to attend to, is the Nabob's compliance with the terms of the Kistbundee (19) which he has executed for payment of the money for the Restitution Fund

(18) Reference here is to the Nawab Meer Jaffier's "Note for Five Lakhs of Rupees per month for the Expenses of the Army", dated 16th September, 1764. According to this note the Nawab agreed to pay to the Company five lakhs of rupees every month "for the expenses of the Europeans and Sepoys, the Artillery, and raising of the Cavalry", "from the beginning of the month Sophar (31st July 1764) of the 5th year of the reign till the removal of the troubles with the Vizier". See Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, Etc.* 4th Edition, 1909.

(19) Reference here is to 'the Kistbundee executed by the Nabob (Meer Jaffier) agreeably to the Company's "Desire for the payment of the Restitution for the Merchants Lossess" during its troubles with Meer Cossim. We find in the Proceedings of a meeting of the Council (at Fort William) in its Secret Department, held at Fort William on Thursday, 6th December, 1764, the following translation of the Nawab's "note for the payment of 48 Laaks of Rupees Restitution money" :—

"Regulation of the payments of the money plundered by Meer Cossim from the English Merchants etc. in the provinces of Bengal & Bahar which shall be made from the Beginning of the month of Cartic in the Bengal year 1171 to the End of the Bengal year 1172 according to the Particulars following :—

In the Bengal year (1171)	...	...	...	...	28,00,000
To the End of Augun ...	...	...	...	...	20,00,000
In the month of Maug ...	...	...	...	...	5,00,000
In the month of Faugun ...	...	...	...	...	3,00,000
In the Bengal year 1172 ...	...	...	...	...	20,00,000
In the month of Sawun (middle of July to the middle of August) ...	...	...	...	...	5,00,000
In the month of Ausin ...	...	...	...	...	7,00,000
In the month of Poos ...	...	...	...	...	8,00,000
Total ...					48,00,000

See Proceedings, Council, Fort William, Secret Department, of 21st November and 6th December, 1764; also the Nawab Meer Jaffier's Treaty (article 10) with the Company, dated 10th July, 1763.

"You will moreover endeavour as soon as possible to procure and transmit us an exact state of the Nabob's Revenues & of the Expences of his Government, also an Account of the number of Troops he keeps up. And you will make it your particular study, to promote in every respect a good Harmony & understanding between us & him.

"We have further to mention to you that we have Reason to think that some persons about the Nabob are endeavouring to prejudice in his opinion Mahomed Reza Cawn the present Naib of Decca ; As this man came into the assistance of ours & the Nabob's Affairs at a critical Juncture, the commencement of the War with Cossim Aly Cawn, & chiefly by our solicitation, tho' with the Nabob's also who in Consequence appointed him to the said naibut, & as he was always shewn himself attached to our Interest, it is becoming & reputable to us to afford him all possible support & Countenance. We accordingly in our visit to take Leave of the Nabob recommended him particularly to his Favor, & as he is now at Moorshedabad for the Adjustment of his Accounts, you will if necessary remind his Excellency of this our Interposition in his Behalf, confirming it in the strongest terms, & further immediately represent to him how absolutely necessary it is to dispatch him to Dacca for the collection of the Revenues in that part.

"You are to regulate your own by the motions of the Nabob, as you are to attend his Durbar wheresoever he may remove to:—We could wish however he may remain for some time at least at Moorshedabad to settle the Collections & Accounts of the several provinces, which as you see occasion you will accordingly represent to him the necessity of.

"We have advised the Gentlement of the Cossimbazar Factory of your Appointment & directed them on all occasions to make their Applications through you to the Nabob & to make you also the necessary Advances for your Expences".

On the acquisition by the Company of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on 12th August, 1765, the importance of the office of Resident at the Durbar greatly increased with the increase in its duties and responsibilities consequent thereupon. As a result of this acquisition, its Treaty (20) with the Nawab of Bengal (Najm-ud-Daula), and its Agreement (21) with the latter under which he consented "to accept of the annual sum of Secca Rupees 5386131-9, as an adequate allowance for the support of the Nizamut", the

(20) Executed by the President and Council of Fort William on 20th February, 1765, and by the Nawab of Bengal on 25th February, 1765. *Vide* Proceedings, Council, Fort William, Secret Department, 20th and 28th February 1765.

(21) See the Proceedings of the Select Committee, Fort William, of 7th September, 1765; also Home Department (Public) O.C. No. 3, 9th September, 1765. The relevant O.C. does not contain any date of the Agreement referred to in the text above. As I have shown elsewhere (*Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*, Vol. I, 1765-72, pp. 5-1, footnote), the Agreement in question must have been executed on a date in between 24th August, 1765, when Clive was on 'the Ganges near Benares' on his way back from Allahabad and 7th September, 1765, when, on his return to Calcutta, he laid before the Select Committee "an account of his several absence from the Presidency".

Company became, to quote the words of the Select Committee at Fort William, "both the Collectors & Proprietors" (22) of the revenues derived from the Diwani lands, and virtually "the sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom." (23) Further, we find in a letter to Mr. Francis Sykes Resident at the Durbar dated at Fort William 12th January, 1768, the Select Committee writing to him that it concurred with him in opinion that the Company as Diwan had "an undoubted right" to exert its authority in all matters relating to the collection of revenues.

Now the functions of the office of Diwan were, since the Company had come into possession of it, exercised (24) by its resident at the Durbar who acted as the "Collector of the King's Revenue under the Inspection and control of the Select Committee" at Fort William. In conjunction with Mahomed Reza Cawn he, said (25) the Select Committee, "superintends the whole collections receives the monthly payments from the Zemindars disburses the stated Revenues appropriated to the King and the nabob inquires into the causes of deficiencies ; redresses Injuries sustained or committed by the officers of the Revenue and transmits the accounts of his office, the invoices of Treasure, and a monthly account of the Treasury with every other occurrence of Importance to the President and Select Committee". (26) In view of these duties entrusted to him, the Resident at the Durbar was also

(22) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 5th October, 1765; also see the Supplement, dated at Fort William 1st October, 1765, to the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 30th September, 1765.

(23) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 30th September, 1765, para. 29.

(24) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors dated at Fort William 24th January, 1767, para. 5.

(25) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 24th January, 1767, para. 5.

Also :—"When first we received from His Majesty the grant of the Dewanny and entered upon the collection of the Royal Revenue, we committed this important charge to the management of Muhamed Reza Cawn, under the immediate inspection of the Resident at the Durbar."—*Ibid*, para. 13.

(26) For instance, when Mr. Richard Becher was appointed Resident at the Durbar in place of Mr. Francis Sykes who had been "reduced to the necessity of requesting permission from the President and Council to proceed to Europe" on account of the declining state of his health the Select Committee at Fort William wrote to him the following letter :—
"To Richard Becher, Esq.,

Resident at the Durbar.

Sir,

The President and Council having nominated you to the station of Resident at the Durbar you will be pleased to proceed to the City with all convenient expedition.

You are to correspond with the Select Committee on the subject of the collections committed to your charge, as well as of all other matters relative to the Country Govt.

As the several orders transmitted to your predecessor will be delivered over to you for your guidance we have only at present to add our best wishes for yr. success.

We are Etc."

Fort William
4th Jan'y 1769.

See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 4th January, 1769.

designated "Collector of the Dewanny": and he was required to transmit to the Select Committee "all accounts relative to the Revenues". (27)

We may also note in this connexion the views which the Court of Directors held in regard to the position and functions of the Resident at the Durbar after the Royal grant of the Diwani to the Company. In its letter to the President and Select Committee at Fort William, dated 17th May, 1766, the Court observed that being constantly on the spot, he (i.e., the Resident) could not long be "a Stranger to any Abuses in the Government", and was always "armed with Power to remedy them". It would be "his Duty to stand between the Administration and the Encroachments always to be apprehended from the Agents of the Company's Servants, which must first be known to him". He was to check all such encroachments and to prevent the oppression of the people of this country. It then referred to its "Sentiments on the office of Resident" as expressed by it in its letter of 24th December, 1765, (28) and said that these "Sentiments" it had held in regard to this office as it had then stood. But now that it had become, presumably in view of the Royal grant of the Diwani, (29) "of so much more Importance", it should, it felt, (30) leave the regularity of it "to the Select Committee; and it desired the Committee to "be very explicit on the subject". It directed, however, that all the correspondence of the Resident with the Committee should be carried on "through the Channel of the President"; that he must "keep a Diary (31) of all his Transactions"; that his "Correspondence with the Natives must be publicly conducted"; and that copies of all his letters sent and received, should "be transmitted Monthly to the Presidency, with Duplicates and Triplicates, to be transmitted Home in our General Packet by every ship". (32)

(27) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William 11th February, 1767.

(28) Obviously, reference here is to paragraph 64 of the Court's General Letter to the President and Council at Fort William, dated 24th December, 1765. The paragraph has been quoted in footnote 1 on page 3 *ante*.

(28) Obviously, reference here is to paragraph 64 of the Court's General Letter to the Dewanny revenues" was no "under his (i.e., the Resident's) immediate Inspection".

(30) See Home Dept. (Fort William, O.C. No. 9, dated 28th December, 1768.

See the Court's letter to the President and Select Committee at Fort William, dated 17th May, 1766, para. 16.

(31) In regard to this, the Select Committee wrote to the Court in its reply dated at Fort William 24th January, 1767 :—

"The diary you recommend would certainly conduce much to the regularity and method of office, but as we are afraid of distracting his attention by presenting too great a variety of different objects to the mind we must at present leave the particular mode of carrying on business to the Resident's own discretion".—See the Select Committee's letter to the Court, dated at Fort William 24th January, 1767.

(32) The reply of the Select Committee at Fort William was :

"His (i.e., the Resident's) correspondence however with the natives, & copies of all letters he may send or receive in his public station, we shall direct him to forward to us, with duplicates and Triplicates to be transmitted (home) in our General Packet".—See the *Ibid*.

Thus the Court would be kept informed of the activities of the Resident at the Durbar.

It should also be mentioned here that the collection of revenues in the province of Bihar was placed "under the immediate direction of the Chief (33) at Patna". He acted jointly, first with Raja Deerijnarayan (34) for a year and a half and then with Rajah Shitab Roy, and was subordinate to the Resident at the Durbar, to whom he used to make "consignments of Treasure", and to transmit monthly accounts of his office. The Resident was required to send those accounts to the Select Committee at Fort William. (35)

Further, when in 1769 Superavisors (or Supervisors) were appointed "on behalf of the Company in each particular province with a view to investigate and ascertain in a minute clear and comprehensive manner a variety of circumstances which intimately concern the welfare of the country (i.e., the Diwani portion of Bengal)" (36) and for "superintending the native officers employed in collecting the revenue of administering justice" there, the Select Committee at Fort William wrote to Mr. Richard Becher, Resident at the Durbar, on 10th December, 1769, explaining the nature of the authority with which it meant to invest the latter in relation to the Supravisors. (37) Among other things, the Committee stated in its letter to Mr. Becher:—"It is our Intention that the Supravisors shall set immediately under the Resident at the Durbar ; and in case of any Misconduct on their parts that he shall have the power of recalling them from their Stations making immediate Report of such his Proceedings to us, or to the Select Committee for the time being in order to have our final Determination". "But this Power in the Resident", the Committee added, "is not meant to extend towards the Supravisor of Dacca, whilst a Member of the Board whose appointment being more immediately

(33) i.e. the Company's Chief Representative there.

(34) This fact is not generally known. We have discovered it in a minute which Warren Hastings (President and Governor) delivered before a meeting of the Council in its Secret Department, held at Fort William on 19th November, 1772. He stated in the course of this minute :—

"I learn that when the Company first became possessed of the Dewaunee Rajah Deerijnarain was constituted Naib Dewan of the Province of Bahar, and held that post for a year and a half that is during the year 1172 and half (of) 1173—that he was then dismissed for supposed neglect or mismanagement in suffering a Ballance to accumulate in the rents of 6½ Laacks of Rupees "on the dismissal of Rajah Deerijnarayan Rajah Shitabroy was appointed to the charge of his office of Naib Dewan and had the management of the collections till the End of the year 1177 when it devolved to the care of the Board (Council) of Revenue which was then formed".—See Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William 19th November 1772.

(35) See the letter of the Select Committee to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 24th January, 1767.

(36) See the "Form of Instructions to be issued by the Resident at the Durbar to the several supravisors", in the Proceedings of the meeting of the Select Committee (at Fort William) held at Fort William on 16th Augut, 1769. For a detailed discussion of the position and functions of the Supravisors, see the author's *Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*, Vol. I., Chapters II & III.

(37) See the Select Committee's letter to Mr. Richard Becher, Resident at the Durbar, dated at Fort William, 10th December, 1769. *Vide* the Proceedings of the Select Committee of 10th December 1769; also the India Office copy of the same in the Imperial Record Office, New Delhi.

by us, we will reserve to ourselves the Judgment of his conduct (38) : but the Resident at the Durbar, and such Supravisor of Dacca are mutually to correspond with each other ; and his accounts and Information are to be sent to the Resident in order to preserve the Form of Government by their being laid regularly before the Ministers for their sanction and opinions".

Moreover, the Resident at the Durbar had been for some time the Chief of the Company's Factory at Cossimbazar. As it had been found, however, that the duties of the two offices were too heavy for one person to discharge satisfactorily, the Court of Directors wrote to the President and Council at Fort William on 20th November, 1767 : (39)

Being convinced that the Employs of Resident at the Durbar and Chief of Cossimbazar cannot from the Importance and Extent of the Business of each Department be properly executed by one Person, we therefore direct that they be from this time forward separated, and that some other member of the Council be appointed to the said Chiefship, We do not make this Regulation from any failure of attentoin on the part of Mr. Sykes, with whose conduct we are perfectly satisfied".

And in a previous letter (40) the Court had written to the President and Select Committee at Fort William, on 21st November, 1766 :

"We observe that Mr. Sykes (Resident at the Durbar) has also charged the Factory at Cossimbazar We apprehend the attention to so large an investment as is made at that Factory will take him off from the more important objects of his office of Resident at the Durbar : if you find Our Conjecture well grounded we recommend it to you, to appoint one of the other members of the Council to that Chiefship that the Resident at the Durbar might apply himself solely to the Superintendency of the Revenues".

The Council at Fort William took action as directed by the Court : And in its General Letter (41) to the Court, dated at Fort William 13th September, 1768, it stated :

"In consequence of your orders that the Chief of Cossimbazar & the Resident at the Durbar should no longer be held by one person we appointed Mr. Wm. Aldersey to the Former and that Gentln having requested our opinion upon some points, we thought it necessary to draw a line between the authority of each & accordingly decided.

"That all persons employed in the provision of the Investment (42) & the management of that Branch should under the authority and discretion of the Chief of Cossimbazar—

"That all applications to the Nabob should be thro' the channel of the Resident at the Durbar

(38) See in this connexion the author's *Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*, Vol. I., 1765-72, pp. 77-78, footnote, for further details in regard to this matter.

(39) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 20th November, 1767, para. 110.

(40) See the Court's letter to the President and Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal, dated 21st November, 1766, para. 9.

(41) Para. 118.

(42) This term signified "the goods purchased for the European markets".

"That the Chief of Cossimbazar & the Resident at the Durbar should each of them have additional Power to grant Dusticks (43) in their Respective Departments".

As we shall shortly see, the duties of the Resident at the Durbar and those of the Chief of the Factory at Cossimbazar were again entrusted to the same person in 1772. This happened in the following circumstances.

As we have shown in detail elsewhere, (44) on July 6th, 1770, the Governor and Council at Fort William instituted, in pursuance of the instructions of the Court of Directors conveyed by its General Letter of 30th June, 1769, by the *Lapwing*, two Controlling Councils of Revenue—one at Moorshedabad and another at Patna. With the institution of the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad the Office of Resident at the Durbar was abolished, and Mr. Richard Becher who had previously been appointed Resident at the Durbar, was now appointed Chief of President of the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad, with Messrs Reed, Lawrell and Graham as his colleagues. And the Council at Fort William issued (45) the following Instruction among others, to the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad:—

"You are to have the control of all the business of the Dewanee Revenue But Mahomed Reza Cawn must be Naib Duan and all the business must be carried on through the Naib & under his seal and signing.

"The authority with which we heretofore vested the Resident at the Durbar will no longer remain with him. It is to be exerted by you our Council and all transactions with the Country Government which were carried on through the Channel of the Resident of the Durbar will now be conducted by you.

"And whatever the majority of the Council determine upon is to pass into an Act—but on a division of voices the Chief is to have the Casting Vote". (46)

And when on the recommendation (47) of what is known as the Committee of Circuit, (48) the Council at Fort William decided in August, 1772, to remove the 'Khalsa (49) with all the offices appertaining thereto', from Moorshedabad

(43) Dustuck or Dustick : A pass-port or permit or order. It usually meant the passport issued by the Governor at Fort William or the Chiefs of English factories, for the goods of the Company or of their servants, which exempted them from the payment of duties.

(44) See the author's *Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*, Vol. I., 1765-72, Chapter IV.

(45) See *ibid.*, pp. 104-110, for further details.

(46) These as well as other Instructions which the Council at Fort William issued to the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad had been approved of by the former at its Secret Consultation held at Fort William on 16th August, 1770. They were actually sent to the latter on 11th September, 1770,—See the *ibid.*, pp. 104-110, for further details.

(47) See the *ibid.*, pp. 114-116 for further details.

(48) Constituted by the Controlling Committee of Revenue at its meeting held at Fort William on 14th May, 1772. For details, see the *ibid.*, pp. 158-59 and also pp. 176-77.

(49) Khalsa : The exchequer: 'the office of Government under the Muhammadan administration in which the business of the Revenue Department was transacted, and which was continued during the early period of British rule'.

to Calcutta and place it under its immediate control at the Presidency, it ordered, as will be evident from the following letter, the dissolution of the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad : (50)

We may add that after the decision had been taken by the Council at Fort William to dissolve the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad and to remove from there the Khalsa, etc., to Calcutta, the Committee of circuit proposed (51) that, as Moorshedabad would still continue "to be the Seat of the Residence of the Nabob", a person should remain there "in Quality of Resident of (at?) the Durbar". His duties would be to superintend the transactions of the Nawab's Court, "to keep an Eye over the conduct of his Guardian (52) and his Duan, (53) in the care of his Education & the management of his Household to furnish the Advances of his stipend according to the orders of the President & Council to receive and transmit the Accounts of its Application agreeably to the orders of the Court of Directors and to attend to the good Government of the City". The Committee also suggested that, as the situation of the Resident would enable him to conduct with regularity and success the collection of the Western Division of Rajshahi, it should be put under his superintendence. The Committee further proposed that the Resident at the Durbar should be appointed Chief of the Factory at Cossimbazar. Finally, "all these being objects of very great Trust", the Committee was of opinion that "they ought to be, and that the Court of Directors will approve of their being, confided to a member of the Council". It, therefore, recommended that Mr. Samuel Middleton should be appointed

(50) See Secret Consultation, Fort William, 17th August, 1772; also the General Letter (Revenue Department to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 3rd November, 1772. "To

Saml. Middleton Esqre,

Chief & Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad.

Gentlemen,

Having judged it expedient to remove the Khalsa Etc. offices of the Dewannee from Moorshedabad to Calcutta in consequence of the command of the Hon'ble Company and the inutility of continuing the Revenue Establishment at Muxadabad without any charge being duly considered We this day came to the Resolution of Recalling the Gentlemen of your Board to the Presidency and of Dissolving the appointment we made for managing the Business of the Collections at the City. On receipt of this you will therefore consider yourselves no longer a Board of Revenue but finally Close your proceedings collect together your records and convey them in the safest manner to us.

Fort William

17th August, 1772.

We are, Etc.,
Wm. Aldersey
Thos. Lane
Richd. Barwell
(James) Harris
Hy Goodwin"

(51) Vide Secret Consultation, Fort William, 29th August 1772; also the Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit Cossimbazar, dated 20th August, 1772.

(52) Munnee Begum, widow of the late Nawab Meer Jafier.

(53) Raja' Goordass, son of Maharaja Nund Comar.

"Resident of (at?) the Durbar, Collector of Rajeshahy and Chief of Cossimbazar". All these recommendations of the Committee of Circuit were duly accepted by the Council at Fort William. (54) Thus the office of Resident at the Durbar was reinstituted in 1772, although its duties now were to be somewhat different from what they had been before.

D. N. BANERJEE.

(54) See Secret consultation, Fort William, 29th August, 1772 also the Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, Cossimbazar, dated 20th August, 1772.

A Brief Sketch of the Character and Achievements of Thomas Saunders.

LIKE Clive and Hastings Saunders began his career on the lowest rung of the ladder. He could have had but little prospects on the Company's establishment at Bencoolen where he arrived as a writer at the age of 19, in July 1732 (1). Within two years, however, he got himself transferred to Madras, (2) where having first served as writer to the Accountant he became a factor in 1737 (3). In 1738 he became "a sub-accountant in the room of Mr. Appleby deceased" (4). In 1739 having come of age he executed his convenants nominating Messrs. Thomas Saunders and Hickman as securities (5). Next year found him as a second of the Council at Vizagapatam (6). He took charge from George Stratton but was soon, in 1743, on the appointment of Richard Prince as Chief, ordered to repair to Ingeram as Resident (7). It was while he was at Ingeram that the orders of the Court of Directors arrived appointing him as the fifth of the Council of Fort St. David, where the seat of the Presidency had been transferred, since the loss of Madras (8). He, however, continued as Resident at Ingeram and in December 1749 took charge of the post of Chief of Vizagapatam (9). In July 1750 the Lynn brought the despatch from the Company appointing him to succeed Charles Floyer as Governor (10).

He must have been gratified indeed, at the age of nearly 37 years (11), to have been made the head of the affairs of the Company on the Coromandel Coast. But his gratification would not have been unmixed with feelings of doubt and apprehension. For he was at once called upon to shoulder two great responsibilities. He had to face the most critical situation created by the fall of Nāsir Jung and the rise of Dupleix in the politics of the Carnatic. He had, at the same time, to invigorate and reform the entire administration of the Company's affairs which had become effectuated and enervated. Floyer

(1) Letters to Fort St. George 1732—Printed p. 7.

(2) do. do. 1735—Printed p. 24.

(3) Fort St. George Cons. 1736—Printed p. 202 and 1737 p. 146.

(4) do. do. 1738 p. 128.

(5) do. do. 1739—Printed p. 27.

(6) do. do. 1740—Printed p. 28.

(7) do. do. 1743—Printed p. 25, 121, 181.

(8) do. do. 1748—Printed p. 124.

(9) Letters to Fort St. David 1749—Printed p. 11.

(10) Fort St. David Cons. 1750—Printed p. 165.

(11) Fort St. David Cons. 1748—Printed p. 240.

had thought more of the gaming table than of the Council Board, allowed the administration to languish and incurred the wrath of the Company (12). Dupleix had watched, calculated, seized the right moment to ally himself with Chanda Saheb and Musafar Jang and resolved at all costs to fight for the supremacy in the South, to set up his nominee Chanda Saheb on the Musnud at Arcot. External danger and internal decay threatened to imperil the Company's possessions. In this welter of affairs Saunders took the only bold course that was open to him. He allied himself heart and soul with the cause of Muhammad Ali and exercised the strictest control over every branch of the Company's administration.

Saunders as a Governor appears cold, stern, and at time dictatorial in the storm and stress period of his rule (13). His associates found him silent and uncommunicative. Lawrence was never sure of his sympathy; he once accused him of having made him wait for a considerable time before he could get an audience with him (14). He was lacking in tact and suavity in his dealings with his colleagues; his correspondence with Lawrence and Colonel Adlercron furnish us innumerable instances in which had he displayed some tact and less reticence, he could have avoided some at least of their rancour and fretfulness (15). Nor is there any evidence to indicate that he was sociable, that he entertained his friends and subordinates or shone well in conversation. He was indeed no orator (16); he was not gifted with eloquence, humour, wit or irony. But if we may judge from his writings he had some talent for sarcasm and he sometimes employed quite unconsciously a natural rhetoric. The reports of the West Coast Committee over which he presided reveal that he had a style at once vigorous and fertile, not wanting in embellishments, frank, direct, and carrying conviction in almost every sentence (17). The same gift of direct expression, of frankness in intercourse, is discernible in his letters addressed to the Nawab and other country powers (18). He detested bombast and long-windedness. Indeed in his intercourse with his friends and subordinates and in his transactions with the merchants, he never beat about the bush, he always went straight to the point.

This cold aloofness, though it endeared him to none, served him well in one respect. It enabled him to arrive at decisions with the utmost calmness,

(12) Calendar of Madras Despatches 1744—1755; Dodwell p. vii.

(13) Calendar of Madras Despatches 1744—1755 p. vii-viii. Dupleix and Clive—Dowdell p. 54.

(14) See Lawrence's letters to Saunders printed in the Military Cons. 1753 and 1754 especially p. 2 of Mil. Cons. of 1753.

(15) See Saunders' letters to Lawrence in the Mil. Cons. of Fort St. George, 1753-1754 and his letters to Col. Adlercron in Mil. Cons. of 1754. See also Mil. Sundries Nos. 6 and 7.

(16) e.g. On the inauguration of the Charter establishing the Mayor's Court and other Courts of Justice he is reported to have made only a brief speech. Pub. Cons. 1753-Ms. Vol. 81-B-24th Aug.

(17) See the Reports in Pub. Cons. Vol. No. 81-B. Cons. dated 8th Oct. 1753, and Vol. 83-B Cons. dated 7th Oct. 1854.

(18) See Country Correspondence Vols. printed for 1750-51 and 1753—1755.*

to perform his duties unaffected, unhampered by any feelings of fear of favour. He was perhaps the most impartial among his colleagues ; he seldom contravened the rule of seniority in promotions and where he contravened, as in the case of Clive, whom he chose for an important military mission from among the Civilians, the results more than amply justified his contravention. It must be remarked that in the matter of promotions even the great Lawrence himself, showed more than once his favouritism and partiality ; but Saunders opposed this tendency, whenever injustice was involved to seniors, even at the risk of rousing his anger (19). In fact, in discharging his duties he cared little for personalities ; he opposed, censured, warned and suspended even members of Council. Whenever he and his colleagues felt it dangerous to pursue the course suggested by Lawrence, he vehemently opposed that policy and got the views of the Government enforced by that veteran notwithstanding his fumings and frettings and threats to quit the command of the army (20). There is nothing to show, except the groundless accusations of Lawrence that he distrusted his colleagues and subordinates. On one point, however, he was firm. He did not permit himself to be drawn into chimerical schemes or on a course of conduct which was in any way detrimental to the Company's interests. He did not allow Colonel Adlercron to interfere into the politics of the Carnatic of which he knew little ; nor did he permit him to have the sole voice in the matters affecting the discipline and regulation of the Company's army, though he claimed over such matters the sole authority from the Crown (21). The manner in which he dealt with Adlercron and Lawrence, both autocrats, who could brook no dictation, while it displays his want of tact, shows also his tenacity to preserve and his solicitude to protect the interests of the Company. He accepted their good suggestions and rejected the bad after a full discussion in Council and if they still persisted in the adoption of their views he informed them the full reasons for the non-adoption of those views, or compromised with them where compromise was possible without sacrificing any essential principle or course of conduct necessary for the well-being and safety of the Company's possessions. He established and supported the Mayor's Court against all calumnies ; but when the Mayor's Court began to question the authority of the Government, he upheld that authority against all opposition (22). He did every thing to protect the prestige, the privileges of the Company, and impressed his strong sense of duty on all who served the Company. When Cooke, a member of the Council of Fort St. David, hesitated, procrastinated and eventually refused to go on an important political mission to Tanjore, unless he were assured of a special compensation, Saunders threatened him with dismissal, unless the orders were carried out at once (23).

(19) e.g. *Mil. Cons.* 1753—Printed p. 2, 1754 p. 135 sqq. *Love's Vestiges of Old Madras* Vol. II, p. 484 sqq.

(20) References already given to the correspondence between Lawrence and Saunders illustrate this.

(21) *Mill. Cons.* 1753—Printed p. 218 sqq.

(22) *Pub. Cons.* 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B *Cons.* 25th July; 1754 Ms. Vol. 82 *Cons.* 14th Jan. 21st, 28th Jan. 4th Feb. 18th Feb. Ms. Vol. 83-A *Cons.* June.

(23) *Mil. Cons.* 1753—Printed pp. 149-51, 152-54, 159-162.

Dawsonne Drake, another member of the Council met with a similar threat when he declined on the pretext of illness to go as a supervisor to Sumatra (24). Several other examples may be quoted by which he endeavoured to improve the discipline and conduct of the Company's service.

But if he was a hard task-master, he was a kind and benevolent administrator. The poor, the weak and the oppressed found in him a warm patron who could always be trusted to look to their welfare even amidst the din of warfare and anarchy. His sense of justice and humanity revolted against all kinds of oppressions practised by the rich over the poor, the strong over the weak. He prohibited the craze for Pagoda-building, a craze which had originated in the ambitions of the rich to earn renown, and for which they traded on the superstitions of the poor and compelled them to contribute funds which they could ill-afford to spare (25). He recommended to the Directors the abolition of the various duties collected by the Managers of the Pagodas from the poor worshippers for which there was neither any precedent nor any prescription (26). He forbade the renters under strict penalties from collecting duties on horned cattle brought into Madras and on provisions and necessary articles of food (27). He composed the disputes of the Right and Left hand casts, of the Tengala and Wadagala Brahmins, and preserved as far as possible internal peace and security within the bounds of Madras (28). In an age of inveterate hostility towards the Roman Catholics and Armenians, an age which witnessed the demolition of the Portuguese Church in the White Town (29) and the transfer of the Church built at Vepery by Coja Petrus to the Danish Mission (30), he felt some compassion for the Roman Catholics and granted them certain privileges even against the expressed wishes of the Home Authorities. He allowed them to remain in the White Town until they could conveniently accommodate themselves in the Black Town (31), and granted certain allowances to Fathers Severini and Bernard (32). He it was who was more than any body else responsible for bettering the lot of the coffrees, the African slaves, who were brought in ship loads from Madagascar to Madras and from thence transhipped to Sumatra to work in the plantations. He passed a series of orders for providing them proper accommodation, food, clothing and medical aid (33). He gave the male members military training and transformed them into tolerably good military material (34). Nor did he

(24) Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 83 Cons. d/5th Sep.; 9th Septr.; and 16th September.

(25) „ „ 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A Cons. 9th June.

(26) „ „ 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 31st Decr.

(27) „ „ 1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 7th January.

(28) „ „ 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A Cons. 4th May.

1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A Cons. 9th June.

(29) „ „ 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A Cons. 30th Jan. & 20th April.

(30) „ „ 1732 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 9th October & 20th November.

(31) „ „ 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A Cons. 30th January.

(32) „ „ 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 6th August.

(33) „ „ 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 1st September & 24th December.

1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 28th August.

(34) „ „ 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 25th September.

allow the coffee women to be molested by the soldiers or sepoys. A strict guard over them was to be kept and any misconduct detected was to be instantly reported and punished (35). To his sympathy for the distressed must also be attributed the close control which he exercised over hospital managements. As soon as the hospital was shifted from the Fort to Peddanayague Petta he passed, on instructions from Home, a Standing order to the effect that one of the members of the Council, should, once a week, by turn, visit the hospital and report to the Board any defects or irregularities with suggestions for remedies (36). The members of the Council, we notice, spoke during these visits not only to the surgeons but also to the patients and enquired into complaints. To these frequent visits must be traced a number of reforms; the enlargement of and repairs to the hospital wards, the provision of good food during scarcity, of sufficient warm clothing during winter, and of additional ward-boys and coolies to render prompt and efficient service (37). Above everything these visits provided a much needed control over the conduct of the surgeons.

These are not the only qualities of Saunders that strike us when we study his administration. We meet at every step instances of his ability, his vigilance, his courage, his resourcefulness and a tenacity which rarely knew any obstacles. A depreciating currency, a treasury impoverished by large drafts from the camp, a declining investment, a society disorganised by warfare and a service unaccustomed to strict control, all these called for supreme statesmanship.

The currency problem confronted Saunders at the very beginning of his administration. He observed that the low price of silver, of rupees, had dislocated trade, discontented the service, and caused even a mutiny at Madras. Since the loss of Madras all Government payments and advances had been made in rupees. Bills drawn on Arcot from all parts of India had been formerly transmitted in rupees, but recently the merchants had given up this practice and made their return in goods. Nasir Jang had brought with him a large quantity of rupees for the payment of his troops. The net result of all this had been an abundance of rupees in the Carnatic, and this had lowered their value while the influx of gold had become very small. To remedy this evil Saunders proposed that all receipts and payments should be made in gold, *i.e.*, in pagodas and "instead of coining when our occasions require we (should) dispose of some silver (38)." Gold could only be procured by the sale of rupees and throughout the period of Saunderson's Rule, large quantities of rupees were exchanged for pagodas, very frequently, almost every month, to meet the demands of the State (39). In 1754 it was

(35) Pub. Cons. 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 1st September.

(36) " " 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 4th Dec. sqq. Calendar of Madras Despatches 1744-55 p. 164.

(37) Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. 81-B Cons. 10th December.

1754 Ms. 83-B Cons. 9th Sept., 31st Oct., 25th Nov., & 31st Decr.

(38) Fort St. David Cons. 1750—Printed p. 248.

(39) The reader will find many instances of this in the Public Consultations.

ordered that all small payments, instead of being made in Pagodas should be made in fanams and for this purpose Fort St. David like Madras was asked to keep always in stock a sufficient quantity of fanams (40).

Indeed, the problem of financing the needs of the needs of the State called forth supreme exertions on the part of Saunders and his Council. As the fighting round Trichinipoly continued unabated, large and urgent demands were made from the camp while the merchants increasingly clamoured for advances that they might fulfil their contracts, that they might set the weavers to work. What was supplied by the Company was hardly found sufficient to meet these importunate demands; many time the Government found itself with a depleted treasury. The usual method of remittances to Fort St. David were by bills; bills drawn on the Presidency in favour of persons who had lent money at Fort St. David were cleared as fast as they were presented. The Presidency also remitted bills on the Company's servants or on the representatives of the wellknown bankers of that age, Bucanjee Cassidas. It was more than once felt necessary to order Fort St. David not to issue bills of less than 10 days sight (41). Borrowing was often resorted to and Saunders himself, we are told, lent large sums of money on urgent occasions (42). Nor was this all. To meet the large demands Saunders and his Council often had to detain part of the Treasure intended for Bengal in spite of the remonstrances of that Presidency (43).

In this period of vast expenditure on the army it was but natural that the Government should scrutinize their budget with care, exercise all irregularities and attempt, if possible, to increase their resources. Saunders kept a strongest supervision over receipts and insisted that the Company's farmers should pay their instalments promptly and regularly. He never allowed them any remission unless they could show just cause and swear in their temples as to the truth of their unavoidable losses (44). Whenever the farms expired he caused careful enquiries to be made so as to ascertain their real value that they might be farmed out at a higher sum (45). He secured from the Nawab first the Kille of Poonamallee as a Jageer to the Company (46), and then the revenues of Seven Magnams, Manamangalam, Covelong and Chingleput, as part payment of the growing debts of the Nawab to the

(40) Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 82, Cons. 14th and 21st January.

(41) e.g. Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A Cons. 17th April.

(42) e.g. „ „ 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B 26th November.

1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 18th February.

(43) Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. August & 15th October.

(44) „ „ 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 9th October.

1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A & B Cons. 28th May & 10th December.

1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 25th Mar, 29th Apr., 6th May, 20th May, 28th May.

Ms. Vol. 83-A Cons. 25th June, 15th July and 26th August.

(45) Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81A & B Cons. 9th June & 4th August.

(46) Mil. Cons. 1754—Printed p. 137, 176 & 183.

Company (47). He subjected every item of expenditure of the subordinate settlements to strict scrutiny, eliminated irregularities and waste and insisted on a regular transmission of the accounts every month. In cases of habitual neglect and gross irregularities he threatened to suspend even the members of Council (48). On being apprised of certain defects in the management of the Company's works he instituted a thorough enquiry (49), appointed a Standing Committee of Works and ordered that all building materials, bricks and Chunam, should be obtained on the tender system (50). He defined the duties of the Company's Engineer; he laid down that for every construction he should first prepare estimate and that he should undertake no repairs costing over 50 Pagodas without the order of the Government (51). On his suggestion the Accountant was required to draw up monthly an abstract of the expenses of the Settlement compared with the preceding month explaining the causes of increase and decrease, so that a strict watch over expenditure might be maintained (52).

Turning to the Company's commerce Saunders could find but little satisfaction. Here there was much to improve a great deal to do to prop up a declining investment. Commerce can hardly flourish where war prevails and the fever of warfare which raged in the Carnatic and spread in the Deccan undermined the Company's investment. The weavers found it impossible to pursue their trade in peace; the merchants felt it precarious to entrust them with money; while the Government experienced much difficulty in procuring merchants who could be expected to fulfil their contracts, and, after having procured them, in advancing them, sufficient funds at a time when the demands from the camp practically impoverished the treasury (53). Yet Saunders and his Council made every endeavour to encourage the Investment both in Madras and the subordinate factories of Fort St. David in the South, and Vizagapatam, Bandermaalanka and Ingeram in the North. It is unnecessary to recount here the various strands of the political turmoil of the Carnatic and the Deccan. Suffice it to say that the almost intermittent fighting which prevailed in the South badly hit the Fort St. David investment, while the intrigues of Bussy, the quarrels of Vizairamrauze, Jaffar Aly Cawn and the Raja of Bobbili, and the incursions of the Marathas considerably affected the investment of the Northern Factories. To this was added in the Deccan the systematic endeavours of the French to seduce the weavers and merchants, and the scarcity of dodoos, the copper money with which alone the weaver could buy the thread in the local market. In Madras itself the investment was in no better condition. Saunders and his Council did not fail to grasp the situation. They felt that it was impossible to expect much improvement in the midst of chaos. They frequently sent

(47) Mil. Cons. 1754—Printed p. 153, 182, 183, 185, 197, 203, 212.

(48) Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 83-B Cons. 26th September.

(49) " " 1754 Ms. Vol. 82—Cons. 28th January, 29th April, 13th May.

(50) " " 1754 Ms. Vol. 82—Cons. 29th April, 13th May and 28th May.

(51) " " 1753 Ms. 81-B Cons. 10th July.

(52) " " 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. July 10th.

(53) The Pub. Cons. are full of these complaints.

money both in the shape of cash and bills to the subordinate settlements, consented to buy even inferior cloth at an abatement (54), made urgent arrangements for the supply of dodoos to the Northern Factories (55) and advised their subordinacies to handle their merchants with tact and consideration. The merchants were not to be allowed to run into large arrears to the Company ; the deserving among them were to be advanced and encouraged, the undeserving warned and punished ; but on no account were they to be allowed to defraud the Company (56). Saunders made some attempts to explore the possibility of providing an investment at Devicotta (57). In Madras itself he and his colleagues many a time called the merchants before the Board, exhorted them to fulfil their contracts, reminded them of the various privileges granted them by the Company, and sometimes also warned them that unless they improve their conduct and supplied better cloth, their services would be dispensed with and contracts made with new merchants (58). Thus by a judicious mixture of appeal to their good sense and fears they were induced to supply the best cloth procurable in the market. New merchants were entertained only when absolutely necessary. Thus for instance, when Linga Chetty repeatedly refused to comply with the terms offered him for the provision of fine goods, his monopoly was abolished and, contracts on favourable terms were concluded with other merchants (59). It was however not so much in the matter of providing investment as in the disposal of European goods, particularly of broad cloth, that Saunders and his Council encountered insurmountable difficulties. There was a tolerably good demand for copper and lead ; but for broad cloth, which the Directors sent in large quantities, in every season, there was really little demand in the hot climate of the South. In spite of every endeavour, in spite of frequent auctions, in spite of the encouragements held out to the bidders the sales were poor ; and this fact much incensed the Home Authorities (60).

If Saunders showed uncommon zeal in the internal administration of the affairs of the Company, he showed an equally uncommon ability in conducting their external affairs. He served the Company for more than four critical years which consummate skill and ability. He displayed an

(54) Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 83-B Cons. 23rd September, 25th November.

(55) „ „ 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 2nd July, 13th August.

(56) „ „ 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 14th July, 24th September, 30th October.
1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 11th February.
Ms. Vol. 83-A Cons. 20th July.

(57) „ „ 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 5th November, 4th December.
1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 4th March, 25th March, 6th April, 3rd June.
Ms. Vol. 83-B Cons. 31st October.

(58) „ „ 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A Cons. 15th June.
1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A Cons. 21st May.
1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 22nd April.

(59) „ „ 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 2nd August.

(60) „ „ 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 23rd April, 8th Oct., 5th Nov., 20th Decr.
1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 4th Jan., 18th Feb., 13th May, 20th May.
Ms. Vol. 83A & B Cons. 17th June, 16th September.

uncanny insight into the political calculus of his able and determined rival. It was he who was largely responsible for the frustration of the grandiose schemes of Dupleix. For every move made by Dupleix he made a counter-move on the political chess-board of the Carnatic (61). It was here that he sent Clive and Lawrence and formed combinations with the King of Tanjore and the Tondiman to counteract the French activities and alliances with the Dalavai of Mysore and the Marathas. It was here that Chanda Saheb was defeated and the cause of Mumammad Ali defended on the battlefield. It was here that he put forth all the exertions, employed all the resources of the Company (62). Not that he was unmindful or ignorant of the French Schemes in the Deccan. He knew the helplessness of the Nizam. He beheld the growing ascendancy of Bussy. He encouraged and instigated Shanavaz Cawn, Jaffer Ali and Vizairamrauze to put up a determined opposition to the French (63). Beyond this, however, he did not proceed for the precise reason that he did not feel justified in employing the English forces in two separate far off theatres of warfare when those forces were invariably smaller than the forces which the French could command in Carnatic alone, and when he realized that a decisive French Victory in the Carnatic implied a certain ruin to the Company's Settlements on the Coast. He was the first to foresee that the cause of Muhammad Ali was the cause of English, that the prosperity or adversity of the one was intimately bound up with the prosperity or adversity of the other. Hence it was that he supported the Nawab with all the men and money at his disposal and refused to buy peace at Sadras unless Dupleix acknowledged the Nawab's authority (64). It was only when the clouds gathered thick, when in spite of Lawrence's victories the strength of the enemy seemed in-exhaustible, that he proposed to detach the Dalavai and to bind him to the Company and the Nawab by ceding to his Trichinopoly. This involved some sacrifices on the part of the Nawab, but he regarded these sacrifices necessary in order that larger sacrifices might be avoided and the French robbed of a powerful ally and overthrown (65). This policy might, no doubt, be questioned, charged with inconsistency on the ground that it implied weakening the Nawab instead of strengthening him and giving up the prestige gained at the cost of so much blood and treasure instead of pursuing it. But it was an inconsistency which he might well plead was justified by stern political necessity. For, without recourse to it he described no prospects either for the Company or for the Nawab engaged as they were with diminishing resources in a protracted struggle with the Dalavai and Dupleix. When circumstances changed, when fresh supplies came from Europe, he attempted

(61) The reader is referred specially to the Military Consultations and French Correspondence Volumes of the period.

(62) See Mil. Cons. Vol. for 1752, 1753 and 1754—Printed.

(63) See Mil. Cons. Vol. for 1753 and 1754—Printed.

(64) Mil. Cons. 1753—Printed p. 207 sqq.

1754—Printed p. 22 sqq.

(65) „ „ 1754—Printed p. 55, 62, sqq. 71, 76-78. 94-96, 104-106, 144, 147, 159, 173-5.

to organise a vast scheme to overthrow the French in the Aracot country (66). But when Godeheu proposed peace he accepted it securing in fact for the Nawab within which to recoup themselves and to muster all their strength for the coming struggle of the Seven Years War (67).

DR. B. S. BALIGA.

(66) Mii. Cons. 1754—Printed p. 276 sqq.

(67) „ „ 1754—Printed pp. 176-177, 187-188, 195, 201, 205-206, 214-215, 225-227, 233-235, 250, 256-257, 273, 282-283, 286-288, 290-298.

A Study in Economic History Indapur Village.

INDAPUR is a village in the taluka of the same name in the Poona district.

This paper is an attempt to reconstruct the economic history of the village from the unpublished records in the Peshwa's Daftar. All the material for this paper is gathered from the rumals of the Jamav section of the Daftar. A guide to the Peshwa's daftar describes this section as 'The largest and perhaps the most puzzling section of the Poona Daftar'. This part of the Daftar consists mostly of revenue accounts kept by the village officers. The author of the guide called the papers puzzling probably because they do not yield direct information about the political history of the Marathas. The guide further remarks, 'To a student having patience and capacity for labour this Jamav section of the Daftar representing as it does not only the centre but all the remotest corners of the Presidency is a veritable Alladin's cave Information about ancient measurements and revenue systems, the various kinds of taxes and their incidence and statistics of multifarious descriptions as well as names and duties of the old officials can similarly be gleaned.'

The village Indapur is selected for this study because the papers relating to this village cover 16 rumals and the record is therefore sufficiently voluminous. It has not been possible for me to study all these rumals. But I have managed to go through three of them fairly critically :

The arrangement of the bundles in the rumals is without any order. In the first rumal I found papers relating to the period from 1689 to 1750. Each rumal contains several bundles. Each bundle refers to one year. The bundle consists of a Gaonzada, the accounts of day to day revenue collections and also some loose paper relating to Inam grants. Occasionally one comes across a kowlnama or an Istava. Several of the originals of inam grants are found in various bundles.

The Gaonzada which is also described as Thalzada in some bundles begins by giving the exact area of the village. Then the division between Khalsa and Inam lands is given. The total area of the Inam land is given but no further details about these lands are available in the Gaonzada. The Khalsa land is described in detail. The Khalsa land means only that land which was open to assessment and so came under the jurisdiction of the village officers. The land is further divided between Bagayat and Jirayat. The Bagayat land is the garden land and therefore valuable ; the Jirayat includes all land except Bagayat both cultivable and non-cultivable. The Gaonzada then give the actual acreage under cultivation both Bagayat and

Jirayat. The names of all the tenants are given as well as the names of the fields. The tenants are classified as Lavgan and Upris. The Lavgan means those whose farm acreage is definitely measured while the Upri tenants are those who pay a lump sum as revenue and no exact measurements of the land they cultivate is mentioned. Besides the returns of land revenue the Gaonzada also gives details about the other heads of revenue. These are generally the Mohturfa Balute, Asami and Ghar Jama. The Mohturfa tax is taken from weavers, goldsmiths, Tambolis (Pan-sellers) oil-pressers, butchers, shepherds and hunnars (probably mechanics), and such other artisans who had shops in the village. The Baluta tax was taken from those artisans who gave hereditary service to the people of the village. The Baluta includes carpenters, washermen, barbers, cobblers, potters and Mangs (who disposed of dead cattle) etc.

The exact meaning of the term Asami is not known. Mr. Wilson's glossary is not very helpful on this point. This tax is generally taken at a flat rate of Rs. 2 per head. It is not however collected from all and sundry but only from those who pay rupees fifty or more as land tax both Bagayat and Jirayat. It is shown to have been collected from the artisan and the Balutas as well. If Asami is to be taken as meaning a house-tax then the question arises as to what Gharjama means. The Gharjama is collected at a variable rate from annas 8 to Rs. 3 and more per head. Mr. Wilson's glossary gives Gharjama as meaning house-tax. One bundle has separate slips showing individuals.

Next the Gaonzada gives the details of the disbursement: the payment to be made to the Fauzdar, the Deshmukh, Sardeshmukh, Deshpand, Patil, Kulkarni, Chaugula and the Chauthai share.

The Gaonzada or Thalzada and Kowlnamas are the important papers from our point of view. The bundle also consists of the day to day accounts of the revenue receipts; these however are not of any use. In one of the rumals I found a copy of a report made by the village officer describing in details the payments both in kind and services by them from the village people. This report is made to the British Government in the year 1835 A.D. But the report merely states the custom prevalent at the time and so the report in spite of the fact of being of a recent date is of historical value.

Many bundles are not complete. Some do not contain any gaonzadas at all. The condition of the papers is also very bad and deciphering some times becomes a problem. However I succeeded in securing two complete gaonzadas and the account that follows is based on the information given therein.

The earliest paper that I got refers to the year 1092 fasli. It gives the total area of the village as 185 chahurs and odd i.e. 22400 bighas and odd. The area of the village does not seem to have changed during the course of a century following. The gaonzada for the year 1235 gives almost the same area. The area under Inam land however shows a change. The year 1092 gives 4282 bighas as Inam while that of 1235 gives 4469 bighas as Inam. Inam land is further subdivided under two heads. The land given to the

village officers like Patil, Kulkarni, Deshmukh, Deshpande, Joshi, Chaugule and Temples, and land given to individuals as personal favour by the rulers. Such lands are given to the members of the priestly class and to some other people like the dancing girls or to paupers. The second class of Inam lands generally seem to have been given from the cultivable waste of the village. Such land is mentioned as pad-jungle-jamin, and is classified in three grades—first, second and third. The following is the analysis of the land as given in 1235.

Total land	...	22393 Bighas.	Nala	...	296 Bighas.
Bagayat	...	502 do	Medow	...	30 do
Jirayat	...	21891 do	Pature	...	673 do
Inam	...	4469 do	Boundary	...	50 do
Village sites	...	481 do	Pasture for camel	1460 do	
Khadakmal	...	2121 do	Area under tanks	104 do	
Chopan	...	117 do			

The year 1092 gives 295 Bighas only as Bagayat land. This would mean of course that during the course of a century and more this area was doubled, probably due to the development of irrigation. The land under houses is classified into both Bagayat, Jirayat—of course the major portion is Jirayat and only 16 Bighas is Bagayat. The word Khadakmol would suggest pure rocky land. But the division of this land into Bagayat and Jirayat suggests that the 9 Bighas of Khadakmal though Bagayat in quality is strewn with boulders and so non-cultivable. Chopan land means loamy or clayey soil, impermeable and therefore unfit for cultivation. It is excluded from the cultivable area. The cultivable land amounts to 12588 Bighas. This does not mean however that it was all brought under cultivation. The land actually under cultivation is 5060 bighas only. The rest is known as Padjamin or cultivable waste or 'Gatkuli' i.e., without tenants.

Efforts were often made to bring such cultivable waste under cultivation by leasing lands on nominal land tax for a period of five to ten years. The agreement is called a 'Kowl Istawa' and it means a lease or grant of waste land at a rent progressively increasing for a term of years when it becomes fixed. The 1151 'Istawa' shows an account of about 2437 Bighas. 1147 Bighas are fixed at a rate of 5/12 of a rupee per bigha and, the remaining at the rate of 2/3 of a rupee per Bigha. It is a ten years' settlement beginning from 1151. Some tenants reached the limit of Kamal revenue at the end of 5 years while some did so at the end of ten years. There are in all 73 tenants mentioned, 33 of whom had to pay the lower rate and the rest the higher rate. A tenant having 15 bighas for instance paid nothing in the first year, annas 8 in the second, the same amount in the third, a rupee and two annas in the fourth, rupees two and a quarter in the fifth, rupees three and annas two in the sixth, rupees four in the seventh, four rupees and fourteen annas in the eighth, six rupees in the ninth and six rupees and four annas—i.e., the maximum according to the rate fixed in the tenth year. There is nothing to show in the papers so far found as to the result of such attempts. The Gaonzada of 1100 gives 4830 bighas as 'Kirdi Bighas', 4690 of which are Jirayat and 140¼ are Bagayat.

The rest i.e., 17457 Bighas are shown as Balutab Bighas or Nakird Bighas. Compared to these figures those for the year 1235 i.e., 135 years afterwards show 5065 Bighas under the head '*Hajir Mirasdars*' 570 Bighas under *paraganda Mirasdar* while the remaining 17327 bighas are shown under *Gatkuli*. The similarity between the two sets of figures tempts me to infer that the 'kirdi land' (i.e. land which is brought under cultivation some time or other) of 1100 is shown as *Mirasdari* in 1235 figures. The *Paragandi Mirasdari*, I understand, as meaning one which is under cultivation but whose owner is not traceable. While the *gatkuli* land of 1235 I take to be corresponding to the *Nakirda* land of 1100. If this interpretation be correct then it would mean that during the course of 135 years no appreciable amount of land could not be brought under cultivation because it was used otherwise. 4500 bighas was *Inam* land and therefore did not form part of the analysis at all. The figure for cultivable waste comes to about 7000 bighas. This big amount of waste land would explain the comparatively large size of this village and the fact that it is known as *Kasba* and not *Mauje*.

The village belonged to the old jagir lands of the *Bhosales* and so was mostly under the rule of the *Marathas*. But, for a few years since 1092 it must have been under the Muslim rule. In 1092 it is shown under *Şirkar Junnar, Subha Aurangabad, Khyjasta Urfa Daxina*. This title naturally suggests Muslim rule. The *Thalzada* of 1099 also mentions *Khujaste Buniyad* in the heading and suggests Muslim rule. A *Kaulnama* of the same year begins with the word *Padshah Pir* and says that most of the tenants have left the village and so the *Deshmukh* and *Deshpande* were called upon to invite back the tenants and the revenue settlement for the year was made at a modest amount of Rs. 766-12-9. The *Jamabandi* was made with one *Govindrao Shekdar*, an agent of *Janoji Raje Palkar*. The *Jamabandi* for the year 1100 also is at a low figure of Rs. 600. It mentions the fact that the *Ganims* (evidently the *Marathas*) had booted the village and so the tenants had run away from the village. The *Kaulnama* for the year 1128 mentions *Khujaste Buniyad* etc. and also mentions *Indapur* under *Sarkar Junnar*. A *Kaulnama* issued by *Raja Shahu* for the same year 1128 to the *Deshmukh* and *Sardeshmukh* says that *Shinde* and *Sabaji Naik Nimbalkar* looted the village and made it almost dry and so the *Deshmukhi* right was farmed to two individuals for a sum of Rs. 450/- and the *Sardeshmukhi* also for an equal sum. This would suggest that though the village was under Muslim rule the rights of *Deshmukhi* were given to *Shahu*. By 1143 however the village seems to have come under the control of *Shahu*. An *Inam* grant given by *Shahu* describes him as *Chhatrapati* etc. and *Swarajya*, *Monglai*, *Babti*, *Akar* etc. are mentioned suggesting thereby the *Maratha* rule.

In the *rumale* so far examined I have come across revenue returns for about 25 years beginning from 1093 to 1163. The total village receipts for 1093 are Rs. 4481-6-0. For 1095 Rs. 5,305/-. For 1099 the low figures of Rs. 766/- is explained by the *Ganim* activity referred to above. The figure for 1100 is also similarly very low, Rs. 600/- only. But 1104 figure is given as amounting to Rs. 6631/-, 1106-3, 745/-, 1110 Rs. 7,289/-: For 1113

Rs. 7,700/-. The years 1125 and 1127 again show a fall to Rs. 610/- and Rs. 540/- which is explained by the activity of Shinde Nibalkar. The 1128 figure again shows a rise to Rs. 2574/-. The progress seems to have kept up in the next decade because the figure for 1134 is Rs. 2,343/- while that of 1138 is Rs. 4,818/0/0/-. But in the next decade again there is a fall. The figure for 1143 is Rs. 2,812-2-6 but that of 1145 comes down to Rs. 1,508-4-0, of 1146 Rs. 1,647-2-0 and of 1147 Rs. 1,785-12-0. By 1150 that amount shows a rise to Rs. 3,191 and the progress is kept up in the year 1153 which gives the figure Rs. 3,926-8-0. Figure for 1160 shows a still further rise to Rs. 5,262/- but again it drops to Rs. 3,600/- in 1163. Of course the gaps in the above figures will be duly filled when I study the bundles in the remaining rumals. When the revenue returns for a period of one hundred years will be tabulated together they will certainly be very illuminating. From the figures available so far one might say that the receipts varied from year to year according to the area actually under cultivation and the general political and economic condition of the time. For example in 1100 the Bagayat land under cultivation was only 140 bighas and the rate of assessment was Rs. 1-4-0 per bigha while in good years the bagayat assessment varied from Rs. 10/- to Rs. 12/- per bigha and the Jirayat assessment was rupee one per bigha :

1138	Rs. 7	a bigha	} assessment of Bagayat per bigha.
1143	„ 12	do.	
1144	„ 10	do.	
1145	„ 10	do.	
1146	„ 10	do.	
1147	„ 10	do.	

There seems no doubt that occasional disturbance of settled agriculture took place due to political troubles. But the extent of the damage seems to have been restricted to the year of trouble only. The years 1125-27 are described as politically unsettling and the village itself was at the mercy of looters. But the figures for 1128 show that things had changed for the better almost immediately. The Bagayat assessment for the year 1128 is shown to be Rs. 12/- per bigha and Jirayat at a rupee per bigha and the total revenue returns amount to Rs. 2574 while the returns of 1127 show only Rs. 540/-.

No definite idea can be formed about the population of the village. Sometimes it is less ; sometimes more. In bad times the tenants left the village. The cultivable area of the whole village was divided into 42 fields and names given to each field. In 1099, out of 42 fields, the owners of 18 were reported to be present, 14 were absent, 4 were reported in other villages, 1 could be traced, and 5 though present were not able to cultivate.

The field names given in 1235 are practically the same. The village had 7 wadis besides the central part. They are named Tarag Wadi, Galad Wadi, Sarade Wadi, Nhavi Wadi, Mali Wadi and Thakur Wadi. The village had 32 big wells and 76 small ones. The number of bullocks was 190 in 1235 and the number of peasants 106.

The payments made from the village treasury included those made to the hereditary village officials and certain other contributions for specific purposes. The amounts paid to the officials do not appear fixed. But they increased or decreased according to the revenue returns of the particular year. Besides, the whole payment was not made in cash but in both kind and cash.

1093	1143
72211 Ain Sal	1792-14-0 Faujdar
300 Rohilkhare	226- 0-0 Sardeshmukhi
69 Deshmukh	475-10-0 Chauthai
200 Kotha Pati	152- 0-0 Deshmukhi
50 lmarat Pati	73- 8-0 Deshpande
90 Unt Pati	
10 Pati	
40 Jejaya	
1145	1147
654 Faujdar	949-1-6
166½ Malguzar	...
18½ Sundry	...
173½ Chauthai	206-4-0
95 Sardeshmukhi	73-0-0
62 Deshmukhi	76-0-0
31 Deshpande	38-0-0
7 Chaugule	7-0-0
	20-0-0 Patil
	10-0-0 Kulkarni

There appears a gradation in the payments made to Sardeshmukh Deshmukh, and Deshpande. The amounts changed from year to year but the ratio appears to have been maintained. Besides the usual payments there appear certain special contributions under special heads. The 1093 return gives several such contributions. The revenue return of 1138 shows a contribution made in the name of one Nimbalkar. The contribution is taken along with land tax and is shown under the same head. It is taken both from Bagayat and Jirayat land holders, as also from the artisans (Mohaturfa) and Balute. But in the case of land holders this contribution is levied on those who pay Rs. 58/- or more.

The total figures for the year are :

Revenue	Asami	Nimbalkar	Total revenue
Rs. 1,447	36	72	1,555

Regarding the incidence of land tax on the rayats no information is available so far. But two facts deserve mention in this connection. The land-tax as well as other contributions were collected not at a fixed rate, and

not from all holders but only from the land that was actually under cultivation and from those holders who paid more than Rs. 50/- as revenue. Secondly there was a good deal of cultivable waste available. Only those lands that paid must have been brought under cultivation by the rayats and it may be presumed that the law of diminishing returns was not in evidence.

The tax collected from the artisans may throw some light on the general economic condition of the people. The fact that these artisans (Mohuturfa) could maintain their shops in the village and pay tax to the Government would suggest the capacity of this village. Particularly the tax on washermen or on goldsmiths is I think suggestive. Here follow the figures for a few years :

Mohuturfa	...	1138	1143	1145	1160
			(in rupees)		
Weavers	...	78	46	32	63¼
Shepherds	...	9	11¼	8	10
Kasar	...	5	...	...	...
Oil Presser	...	5	...	...	...
Goldsmiths	...	4	6¼	5	27
Butchers	...	...	11¼	3	20
Mechanics (Hunnar)	...	...	8¾	5	...
Tambuli	...	...	5	...	4
Mochi	...	...	...	4	...
Tailors	...	...	...	...	5
Balute	...	1138	1143	1145	1160
Carpenter (Sutar)	...	26½	18¾	10	25
Chambar	...	80	70	45	80
Potter	...	31½	10	10	...
Washerman	...	19	30	22	30
Barber	...	9	10	8	20
Mang	...	...	...	5	...
Total revenue for the year	...	4,501½	2,812-2-6	1,508¼	5,262

Besides payments made to the village treasury the rayats had to make certain payments to the hereditary officials both in kind and also in services. The report of 1235 mentions the custom in this respect and it may be presumed that the hereditary officials made these collections throughout the eighteenth century. The Officers are described in the report as watandars or Hakdars i.e. holders of right. The Officials mentioned in the report are Patil Kulkarni, Deshmukh, Deshpande, Nadgauda and Chaugula. Certain items are mentioned as those in which payments in kind were received while items of services are separately mentioned. Certain payments in kind were taken by these officials at the time of certain religious days like Dasra, Sanskrant and Shimga. The Patil took one pair of shoes from the Chambar every year.

The cost for the pair is mentioned as annas eight only. A pair of shoes was also taken by all the other officials. They also got their musical instruments such as Dafa and Tamki mended every year from the chamber. They took services in kind from the Patwekari, Butcher, Kasar, Atar, Liquor seller, Milkaman, Maneri and weaver. They took service from the Mahars and several other Baluta holders whenever suitable occasion arose. They took from the grocers and fruit sellers certain share according to the amount of articles sold. In shops a distinction was made between those which belonged to the residents of the village and those which belonged to outsiders. The outsiders had to pay double the share paid by local people.

Besides these payments in kind from the various professions they took certain dues from the people in social festivals. When a marriage (even a widow marriage) among the Kunbis was celebrated or when a new house was built or when somebody got a new watan or when some family or caste feud was settled the various village officials were to be honoured by suitable presents such as a turban or a cocoanut. The Nadgauda was not to take anything however for these social functions. He was to take dues only from those who attended the weekly market and from the artisans who maintained shops.

Such is the type of information that can be gleaned from the papers of the Jamav section. The paper is based on scanty material and is obviously incomplete but I think that when all the rumals of this village are studied, they will enable me to draw a more complete picture of the village during the eighteenth century.

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The Indian Museum¹

The late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as the Chairman of the Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, inaugurated the first series of the Museum Lectures in November 1913 with an address on *The History of the Indian Museum*. I do not propose today to deal with its history on the lines of the address of Sir Asutosh, but in order to understand the work and constitution of this great institution it is essential to realize that it is not a single homogeneous organism, but an association of scientific and artistic sections. The only common aim of the different departments which are responsible for the various sections is the maintenance of the several public show-galleries, but otherwise they have very different functions to perform and are even under the administrative charges of different departments of the Government of India.

The significance of the word "Museum" or Temple of Muses has changed a great deal since early times. The first recorded institution which bore the name "Museum" was founded by Ptolemy Soter at Alexandria about 300 B.C. This institution was not a museum in the modern sense, but in accordance with its etymology, it was a place dedicated to the cultivation of learning, and frequented by a society or academy of learned men who devoted themselves to philosophical studies and improvement of knowledge.

In the earlier ages certain great monarchs, such as Solomon of Jerusalem and Augustus of Rome, assembled together in their palaces curiosities received from different parts of the world, but no records for the existence of any permanent or public collections of natural objects for those times have been traced. The nearest approach to such collections is perhaps to be found in the preservation of remarkable specimens, sometimes associated with superstitious veneration, sometimes with strange legendary stories, in buildings devoted to public worship. As an example of this type may be mentioned the skins of gorillas brought by the navigator Hanno from the West Coast of Africa, which were hung in the temple at Carthage. With the revival of learning in the Middle Ages the collecting instinct, which is inborn in peoples of various nations, but which had not shown itself in any tangible shape so far, suddenly came to the fore, and museums or collections of miscellaneous objects, antiquities as well as natural curiosities, and often having associated with them galleries of sculpture and painting, became fashionable appendages of the establishments of many cultured and wealthy people. All these earlier collections were formed and maintained by private individuals, mostly following the dictates of fashion, but sometimes physicians with a natural taste

(1) Lecture delivered at the Indian Museum on 1-3-40.

for biological sciences amassed collections of animals and plants for study. In some cases great merchant princes with trading connections in foreign lands and even ruling princes in their private capacity obtained from foreign lands objects which might be considered curios and displayed them in their houses or palaces. In almost all such cases, however, these collections were maintained for the gratification of the possessor or his personal friends, and rarely, if ever, were associated with any systematic teaching or were available for public benefit. Later when societies for the advancement of knowledge came into existence, they frequently in their corporate capacity included the establishment of a museum as a part of their functions, and the foundation of the Indian Museum in the earlier stages comes under this head.

This great institution was started as a subsidiary activity of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (now known as the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal) in 1814 and has gradually developed into not only a single repository for exhibits which in other countries are scattered in museums of Natural History, Archæology, Economical Products and Art, but it has played a very important part in the advancement of knowledge in various branches in the country. Its popular name "Nia Jadughar" indicates its relationship with the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal which is still generally known as the "Purana Jadughar". Incidentally it may be mentioned that "Jadughar", as applied to a museum, is a misnomer, for this name in other parts of the country is generally restricted to Masonic lodges.

Briefly the Indian Museum may be described as the national repository of collections of Indian antiquities, of the natural history of the country and in fact of most parts of Asia, of the economic products, and the arts and crafts of India. In addition it houses probably the finest collection of Indian pictures of the various Hindu and Mohammedan Schools, as also some representative paintings of modern Indian art. It will thus be seen that the Indian Museum corresponds not only to the British Museum, London, before its Natural History sections were transferred from Bloomsbury to their present quarters in South Kensington, but also includes within its domains the National Picture Gallery of the country as well.

The Indian Museum at present consists of the following sections:— (1) Zoological and Anthropological (Anthropology is given a very wide scope, as it includes within its domain Physical and Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology); (2) Geological and Palæontological; (3) Archæological; (4) Economic Section, including the Botanical department; and (5) the Art Section. The general management of the Indian Museum, which is vested in a board of Trustees, is carried out by the Honorary Secretary with the help of a Committee of Management constituted by the Heads of the various Sections of the Museum. There is no separate Director of the whole Museum, and the different sections are managed respectively by the Director of the Zoological Survey of India, the Director of the Geological Survey of India, the Superintendent of the Archæological Section (an officer of the Archæological Survey of India), the Officer in charge of the Economic Section (an officer of the Botanical Survey of India), and the Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta..

The main Museum building was occupied in 1875, although it was not completed till 1877. It is a quadrangular building in Greek style, and is built of red bricks overlaid with a sandy-grey plaster. The western wing with the main entrance extends for over 500 feet along the Chowringhee and faces the famous Maidan of the city, while its eastern wing abuts on the Sudder Street. It is a very imposing building, of great simplicity and charm, and occupies one of the most central and conspicuous sites in the City of Palaces, as Calcutta is often styled. The four sides of this quadrangular building consist of public galleries on the first two floors, and on each floor there is a broad passage or corridor, enclosed by a colonnade in the Italian style and overlooking the turfed, rectangular open plot of the quadrangle in the centre. A third storey was later added on the top of the western wing for the laboratories and collection of the Natural History Section, now the Zoological Survey of India, and the Lecture Hall of the Museum. In addition to this main building there is the three-storied new wing built in continuation of the western part on its south side, which now houses the public galleries of pre-historic Archæology and Art on its ground and first floors respectively ; and the offices of the Archæological Section and the Picture Gallery and office of the Art Section on the top floor. There is similarly a block on the north-east side of the quadrangle for the Ethnological and Industrial galleries and the Herbarium. Both these wings were built long after the main building and are not quite in harmony with its style, but, as a result of the care exercised by the architects planning them, they do not in any way detract from the majestic simplicity of the main building. The offices and reserve collection of the Geological Survey of India are in a separate building, which is situated in the same compound to the east of the main Museum.

I now propose to take you round the various galleries of the Indian Museum with a view to giving you a general idea of their lay-out and the arrangement of the exhibits, and finally to indicate the very rich nature of its collections. Before doing so, however, it would be useful to refer to two outstanding facts in connection with this great institution. -Normally nearly 3,000 persons daily visit the Indian Museum, but on holidays and other festive occasions this number is increased several-fold. The second point, strange as it may seem, is that the most attractive exhibit in the Museum, at least for the great majority of visitors from rural areas, upcountry and places where Western civilization has not had time to penetrate, is the lift. This modern convenience, which is not really an exhibit of the Museum, serves a very urgent need for the staff of certain sections whose offices are situated on the top storey of the very high building of the Indian Museum and for whom it is essential to have a quick means of access. All the same, the lift is a great attraction, and such large crowds gather round its entrances on the ground and first floors that it has been found necessary to employ two special durwans to keep the passages clear.

The visitor enters the entrance hall of the Indian Museum by the main entrance on the Chowringhee where are exhibited some of the best-known schools of sculpture that developed under the patronage of the great Mauryan



The Entrance Hall of the Indian Museum.

emperor Asoka during the 3rd century B.C. ; there are the Rampurwa Lion and Bull Capitals and the Sarnath Lion Capital, as also the Copper Bolt which connected the Lion Capital with its monolithic shaft, and finally the Kalpadruma of "The wish-fulfilling tree" from Besnagar, which is early Sunga or post-Mauryan. In the next Bay are erected two big Yaksha statues with the peculiar "Mauryan polish", from the site of Pataliputra, a colossal female statue from Besnagar, and a plaster cast of the Parkham statue in the Mathura Museum, all of which are to be assigned to the later Mauryan or early Sunga period. It is not proposed to discuss here the artistic qualities of either the great Asokan or the later Sunga Art, but it may be noted that the highly realistic modelling and anatomical treatment of these statues are ample proofs of the great skill of the artisans, while the lost art of the extraordinary polish of these specimens has always been a source of admiration.

From the Entrance Hall the visitor enters the Bharhut Gallery on the right. Here are exhibited a large number of sculptures of the Sunga period of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. Several of these are also exhibited in the western corridor of the groundfloor, while two of them have recently been placed on the sides of the entrance to this gallery in the main hall. Among these the most notable are the elaborately carved red sandstone rail pillars, cross bars and copings belonging to the great rail round the Buddhist stupa at Bharhut in the Nogod State, Central India, erected during the 2nd and 1st centuries. On the bas-reliefs on these pillars and rails are carved stories (Jatakas) relating to Gautama Buddha's pre-births and incidents in his last birth. In this gallery is also exhibited a part of the old railing of Bodh Gaya, dating from about the 1st century and plaster casts of friezes of the Jaina cave temples of Udayagiri in Orissa and of a few bas-reliefs of stupas I and II of Sanchi, also of the same date. Some figures of griffins and remains of wooden palisades excavated from Pataliputra are also exhibited in this gallery.

In the next Gallery, the Gandhara, in the same line is exhibited a very fine collection of Græco-Buddhist sculptures and architectural pieces from Gandhara, dating from the 2nd to the 4th century A.D. In addition to images of the Buddha that appear in this school for the first time, the most notable specimens are the bas-reliefs illustrating various events in the life of Buddha, while a votive stupa is placed in the centre of the room ; stupas of this type of varying dimensions are a common feature of the Græco-Buddhist architecture. The large number of images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and architectural pieces show very clearly the Græco-Roman influence on the Gandharan art which resulted from the contact between India and the Roman Empire from the 1st century B. C. onwards.

The next Gallery in the same line is the Prehistoric Gallery. In its southern section are exhibited implements of the palæolithic and neolithic or the Stone Age, consisting of numerous specimens of polished celts and small points and knives found in different provinces of India. For comparative purposes some foreign specimens are also shown. The Neolithic period was succeeded by the Copper Age culture which seems to have extended in

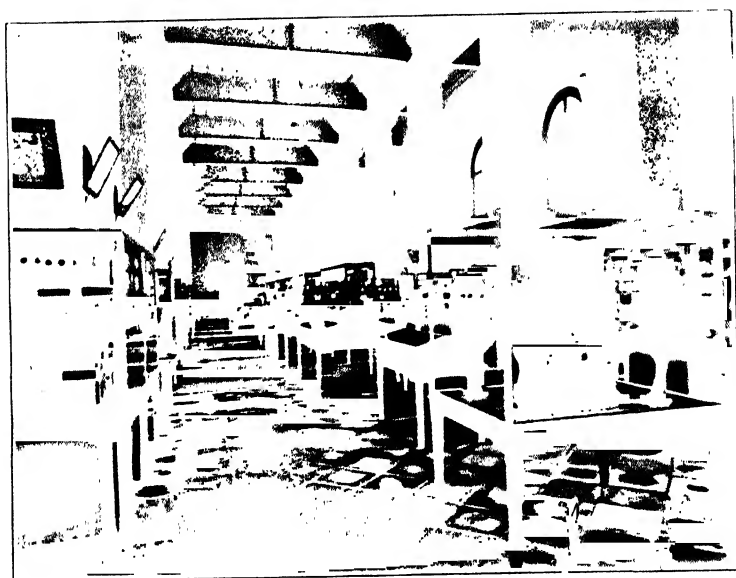
Northern India to almost all the provinces from Kurram in the North-west to Midnapur in the East. A new phase of the Indian Copper Age or the Chalcolithic culture when both copper and stone implements were in use, was discovered in 1922 in Sind. Examples of seals bearing pictographic legends, copper implements, painted pottery, terracotta figurines, shells and other objects excavated from various Sind sites exhibited in this gallery show distinct affinities with similar objects discovered at Susa and Kish and have enabled scholars to date the strata where these antiquities were found to about 3000 B.C. This civilization appears to have been so similar to the contemporaneous Sumerian civilization that one is tempted to postulate the derivation of the one from the other. No evidence of the existence of a Copper Age has been discovered in South India so far, but antiquities of the Iron Age, pottery and implements mostly from prehistoric sites in Coorg and various districts in the Madras Presidency are exhibited. Some rare Egyptian, Babylonian and Athenian antiquities are also displayed in this section, and an Egyptian mummy adorns the centre of the Gallery. Among the miscellaneous antiquities of the historical period is a huge stone box excavated from Piprahwa in the Basti District of the United Provinces, which contained the relics of the Lord Buddha preserved in a very fine crystal bowl, and various other objects found with it. Antiquities excavated at Taxilla, Bhita, Bodh-Gaya, etc., are also exhibited. In two central cases is a representative collection of South Indian bronzes, while a few select plaques from Paharpur and Mahasthan are displayed in two wall-cases. In another case are shown antiquities from Assam and Burma, and a few metal images of the mediæval and later periods from Tibet and Nepal are exhibited in a wall-case. Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions showing the evolution and development of these scripts ranging from about the beginning of the Christian era to the 16th century are placed at the southern end of this hall.

The unique collection of the Indian coins in the Indian Museum is stored in a specially designed Mezzanine room at the south end of this Gallery. This room also houses the very valuable Emerald Bow-ring and Cup of the Emperor Shah Jahan, together with a fine collection of Greek, Roman, Persian and Indian engraved gems from India, Assyrian cylinder seals and Persian and Sussanian gems from Persia and Mesopotamia. The Coin Room is not normally open to the public, but bonafide students and visitors are allowed to inspect the collections by special arrangement with the Superintendent, Archæological Section.

We have now to retrace our steps to the Gandhara Gallery and from there pass on to another extensive gallery of the Archæological Section, known as the Long Gallery, which occupies the groundfloor of the southern wing of the Museum building. In its successive bays are arranged, in chronological order, specimens of sculptures produced by different schools that flourished in India and Indonesia from the beginning of the Christian era to about 1200 A.D. Here are to be seen sculptures of the Mathura School up to the 5th century A.D., some examples of the remarkable Amaravati marbles from the 1st to the 3rd century A.D., Gupta sculptures of 5th and 6th centuries,



The Long Gallery of the Archaeological Section



The Invertebrate Gallery as seen from the south end

mediaeval sculptures from Sarnath, Benares, Mathura and Sutna, Buddhist sculptures of the Pala period from 8th to 12 century, Bengal sculpture belonging to the Pala and Sena periods, etc. More delicate valuable sculptures and bronzes are displayed in show-cases in the centre of the Gallery. Select specimens of the Bihar and Orissa schools of sculpture are exhibited on masonry benches in the southern corridor of the groundfloor outside this gallery, while a few have had to be shown in the first floor corridor.

At the end of the Long Gallery to the east is the Moslem Gallery containing a large collection of Arabic and Persian inscriptions, farmans, sanads, architectural pieces, enamelled tiles, etc. This finishes the survey of the Archaeological Section.

We will now pass on to the Zoological Section. The first gallery on the groundfloor which forms the east wing of the main building, is the Invertebrate Gallery which the visitor enters by the south-east door next to the staircase. It is one of the most up-to-date galleries of the Museum in regard to exhibits, labels and show-cases. In it are exhibited examples of all classes of invertebrates or animals without a backbone. Along the western wall beginning with the most simply organised unicellular Protozoa there are arranged the relatively more complex multicellular Sponges, jelly-fishes, corals, sea-anemones, sea-pens, Moss-animalcules, Lamp-shells, clams, mussels, oysters, etc. Along the eastern side are exhibited a great variety of snails and slugs, squibs and cuttle-fish, lobsters, prawns and crabs. The wall-cases at the south end contain exhibits of the main types of segmented worms, *viz.*, earthworms, leeches, etc., while three cases in the southern half of the central row contain exhibits illustrating the external and internal organisation of the exclusively marine group of animals consisting of star-fishes, brittle-stars, sea-urchins, cake-urchins, sea-cucumbers, etc. Among special features of this gallery may be mentioned (1) the large central case in which are displayed a great variety of forms of the reef-forming corals, (2) a group of four cases illustrating associations of certain animals with other animals either for mutual benefit or of one living at the expense of the other, Descriptive drawings of the main features of the life-histories of some of the more important human parasites causing disease to man and various animals are also exhibited here. (3) a case of Indian molluscs of economic value and containing in addition to others examples of the pearl-producing oysters, the window-pane oyster and the right-handed *chank* which is so highly valued by the pious Hindus, (4) two good examples of the Giant Calm of Indian seas, (5) the common Indian edible prawn and lobster in natural colours, (6) various Indian crabs also painted in their natural colours, (7) Neptune's Cup Sponges, and (8) the Giant Crab of Japan. Two small illuminated habitat groups of sea-anemones and other forms of marine life have also been installed recently on two of the pillars in this gallery.

From this gallery the visitor goes to the Insect Gallery which is located in a small room in the north-east corner of the main building, and in which are exhibited a great variety of Indian insects, spiders, millipedes, centipeds,

Exhibits of crop-pests, useful insects, natural enemies of mosquito larvæ,

plant-galls, sound-producing organs and secondary sexual characters of insects, etc., are arranged in wall-cases. In the centre of the room there are in two cases good specimens of the nest of a common Hornet and a mound of the common White Ant of Bengal. Another set of exhibits in this gallery consists of models and specimens for illustrating the life-histories of (i) insects such as the Mosquito, Bedbug, etc., which are directly responsible for transmitting diseases of man and animals, and (ii) those which are useful to man in connection with such products as silk, lac, etc.

From this gallery the visitor passes into the Ethnographical Gallery which is situated on the first floor of the extension of the north block of the main building. In this gallery there are various exhibits illustrating the life and habits of the primitive tribes of India and also those pertaining to particular aspects of Indian life and culture. Under the former group are ethnographical objects of the Andamanese, the Nicobarese and various hill-tribes of Assam. This part of the gallery is being reorganised, and life-size figures of each tribe with their dresses, agricultural implements, fighting weapons, etc., are exhibited in separate cases in the centre and in some of the bays. In the east half are cases of various agricultural and fishing implements, specimens of head and foot gear, musical instruments, ornaments, weapons, etc. In this gallery is also exhibited the most complete collection of Indian musical instruments. In the western half are shown various types of weaving apparatus, toys, articles of religious rites, baskets, pottery, domestic utensils, grinding and winnowing apparatus, models of mills, etc. Recently a very representative series of bronze casts of the heads of different tribes of India prepared by a well known English artist, Miss Milward, has been acquired for this gallery. These are temporarily exhibited in wall-cases at the east end, but it is hoped that it would before long be possible to arrange them in suitable cases with proper labels when it would be possible for both students and the visiting public to study them properly.

The visitor must now turn back to the corridor through the Insect Gallery and climb up to the first floor by the staircase in the north-east corner of the quadrangle. The first gallery to be visited on this floor is the Invertebrate Fossil Gallery of the Geological Survey of India, which forms the major part of the north wing of the main building. In this gallery fossil invertebrate from various sites in India are arranged stratigraphically, while foreign species belonging to the well-known Klipstein collection are displayed in accordance with their zoological position. The very rich collection of fossil plants from the Gondwana system, the Productus Limestone fossils from the Salt Range and other areas, and for want of space in the Vertebrate fossil gallery on the groundfloor two very large vertebrate fossils of a land turtle and the large Pleistocene Irish elk are also exhibited in this gallery.

The next gallery to be visited is the Small Mammal Gallery, which is situated immediately above the Insect Gallery. In this are exhibited a large variety of small mammals such as porcupines, squirrels, marmots, guinea-pigs, rats, mice, shrews, moles, and the only representative of ant-eaters found in India. There are also specimens of the more primitive forms of Mammals,



The Ethnological Gallery as seen from near its entrance
(See p. 60)



The Gallery of the Industrial Section as seen from near its entrance
(See p. 61)

such as Duck-bill, Spiny Ant-eater, Kangaroos, Opossum etc., none of which are found in India. In the centre in a large case are exhibits illustrating differences in the structure of the skulls and skeletons of some of the more important families of Mammals.

The visitor next passes over a bridge into the large gallery of the Industrial Section which occupies the second floor of the Sudder Street wing over the Ethnological Gallery. In this gallery are exhibited specimens of commercial and industrial interest arranged under the following headings:—

1. Food and fodder which include cereals, pulses and spices, vegetables, fruits, etc. ;
2. Medicinal plants and indigenous medicines of vegetable origin ;
3. Vegetable fibres and silk ;
4. Timbers ;
5. Oilseeds and industrial oils ;
6. Gums, resins, Gutta purcha, rubber, etc. ;
7. Dyes and tanning materials ;
8. Tea and coffee ; and
9. Miscellaneous products, such as lac, paper manufacture materials, matches, Papier Mache, etc.

Special attention may be directed to the exhibits of indigenous vegetable drugs, as also their alkaloids and other active principles, while vegetable fibres such as cotton, jute, etc., whether used for cordage, for weaving or for other purposes are also exhibited together with exhibits of the processes for the manufacture of the final products. Exhibits of silk, as produced in various parts of India, tea, lac, raw materials for paper manufacture, specimens of oil-seeds and finally selected wood samples of 30 of the more important commercial timbers of the country deserve special mention.

From here the visitor must turn back through the Small Mammal Gallery and pass through the north entrance next to the staircase into the Large Mammal Gallery which occupies the whole of the eastern wing of the main building. In this gallery are exhibited mammals of all the larger groups, such as the Cat tribe, the hoofed mammals, the monkeys and man, while in a railed enclosure down the centre are exhibited the skeletons of various mammals. In the centre of the enclosure is a square show-case containing casts and models of whales, the marine porpoises and the freshwater Gangetic porpoise. Hanging from the ceiling over this case is the skeleton of the rare smaller Indian Fin-Whale, while south of it is exhibited an albino Tiger. East of it along the wall are arranged various animals of the Cat-group, such as tiger, lion, panther, cats, etc. At the north end of the centre is a group of skeletons of three Indian elephants, one of which is the largest known specimen, while next to it is the skeleton of the elephant which was used by Lord Curzon in the Delhi Durbar of 1902. A stuffed specimen of a young female elephant from the Assam forests is also placed next to them. Along

the northern side of the gallery are exhibited a series of marine carnivores such as the seal and the walrus. A very good stuffed specimen of a rhinoceros from Nepal is exhibited in one of the cases along the western wall. In cases in the same row are exhibited various types of hoofed mammals. On the walls are exhibited horns and antlers of cattle, deer and other ungulates, several of which are of record size.

Leaving this Gallery by its south gate and passing along the corridor the visitor next enters the Bird, Reptile and Amphibian Gallery. In the east half of this gallery are displayed various Indian species of birds; a few foreign specimens are also included to complete a survey of the Bird Kingdom. A new method of mounting birds on panels for exhibition has recently been adopted in this gallery. At the east end of the gallery is a specially designed and illuminated habitat group of storks found in the United Provinces, which was specially set up after careful studies in the field and which makes it possible to visualize the conditions under which these storks live. Habitat groups of this kind are a very attractive feature of the modern museums, but besides being expensive a great deal of skill and time is necessary for their preparation. In the centre of this gallery there is a block of show-cases containing exhibits of (1) a Lammergeyer which can fly, and a Cassowary which is devoid of the power of flight, (2) various races of domesticated Fowls and Pigeons, (3) a series of mounted specimens illustrating the characteristic poses, display of colour, etc., of birds during courtship, (4) a cock-pheasant's courtship dance, and (5) birds common in the Darjeeling District. In the western half of the gallery on the northern side are exhibited the various kinds of frogs, toads, etc., or Amphibians, including the Giant Salamander of Japan and the only tailed Amphibian of India. Various kinds of Turtles, Lizards and Gekkoes are also exhibited along this wall, while the wall-case on the south side contains exhibits of various terrestrial, freshwater and marine snakes, including the large Python and the highly dreaded King-Cobra. On a board are exhibited a large number of bangles, rings, etc., all of which, forming a mass weighing 15 lbs. 14 ozs., were found in the stomach of a man-eating crocodile near Cuttack in India. In the centre are exhibited fine examples of Gharials and True Muggers and a Leathery Turtle. Next to these is a wall-case containing several specimens of the large Indian Rays.

From the western end of the Bird, Reptile and Amphibian Gallery the visitor passes into the Small Fish Gallery which is situated directly above the Gandhara Gallery. In the centre is a striking exhibit consisting of some of the largest known examples of Sharks, Skates and Rays known from the Indian waters, including the man-eating shark of the Gangetic Delta, the hammer-headed shark and Saw-fish. The small desk cases contain special exhibits of various types of specialised Fishes, fishes of the deep sea, of hill-streams and aquarium fishes. In the wall-case to the east are exhibited various representatives of the primitive Chordates, including the worm-like *Balanoglossus*, the bag-like Sea-squirt, the lancet-like fish and the fish-like Lamprey. The case along the southern half of the western wall contains the skeletal parts of some fishes, while the corresponding half on the northern side



The Art Gallery—looking north



The Art Gallery—looking south

contains examples of various living fossil fishes. These living fossils are of particular interest, as they are the only living representatives of certain types which were the dominant forms in the earlier eras. The remaining wall-cases along the northern wall contain special exhibits of air-breathing fishes, breeding habits and development of certain fishes, larvicidal fishes, flight of fishes, etc. In the cases along the northern half of the eastern wall are exhibited the common edible fishes of the Calcutta markets, while on the walls are hung up specially large specimens of different species of fishes. Along one side of the entrance to the Art Gallery has been installed an illuminated habitat case of a Mud-Skipper from Port Canning, showing how this fish is capable of breathing air direct from the atmosphere and prefers to live on muddy ground rather than in water.

The visitor next enters the Art Gallery which lies to the south of the Fish Gallery over the Prehistoric Archæological Gallery. The exhibits in this gallery are arranged primarily under three main heads: (1) textiles, (2) metal, wood, ceramic wares, etc., and (3) pictures. In the northern half of the gallery the exhibits consist mainly of textiles arranged as (a) fabrics decorated in the loom, and (b) those ornamented after they leave the loom. The latter consist of examples of wax cloth, wax-printing, tie-dyeing, cotton printing and various types of embroidered cloths from all parts of India. The collection of Indian embroideries is particularly rich, and various fine examples of kinkhobs, shawls and brocades are exhibited. In the southern half of the gallery are displayed metal, stone, glass, earthen, lacquer, leather and ivory wares, Papier-mache objects, painted woods, inlaid woods, wood-carvings and glass mosaics. Amongst metal wares there are very good examples of indigenous statutory, brass and copper wares from Tibet, Bhutan, Nepal and various parts of India, damascened and encrusted wares, enamelled, niello and *bidri*, silver and gold wares and imitation gold ornaments. It would require several discourses to describe in any detail the rich variety of the material exhibited in the gallery, but a few of the outstanding exhibits may be noted. The exquisite Tibetan Banner of applique work, the Bhavnagar House which is a faithful representation in wood of a Rajput Chief's palace in Kathiawar and is a very good specimen of a purely Hindu style of wood carving, Lamp Stands from Madura and the necklace and girdle made of human thigh bones from Tibet, the ivory model of the Taj and the screen carved out of stone, together with the enamelled *hooka* with *chillim* belonging to the Nawab of Oudh, etc., are some of the objects to which attention may be invited. The Nahar and Carmichael collections of Indian and Tibetan art among which are prayer wheels, ornaments, scabbards and writing tables, and Tankas and pictures from the same area are exhibited in a separate room at the extreme end of this gallery.

This finishes the survey of all the galleries on the first floor of the Museum and the visitor has now to retrace his steps and walk along through the Fish, Amphibian, Reptile and Bird Gallery along the corridor to the main staircase where the marble statue of Queen Victoria presented by the late Maharajah of Burdwan is placed. Passing down the staircase to the south of the statue

the visitor comes back into the main Entrance Hall of the Museum on the first floor and turning northwards along the west corridor to the north corridor. In this corridor are exhibited specimens of various types of Indian building stones as also a part of the large fossil tree, some 70 feet long, which was found in the rocks of the Ranee-gunj series. From this corridor the visitor enters the large Rock and Mineral Gallery which occupies the major part of the northern wing of the Museum on this floor, and in which is exhibited a very rich collection of different types of rocks found in India and adjacent countries. This collection is more comprehensive than spectacular, but is of especial value for study purposes.

Passing along towards the east the visitor comes to a small squarish gallery known as the Meteorite Gallery in which is exhibited the largest collection of meteorites in Asia and also one of the most important in the whole world. Several rare iron meteorites also are on view and there are in addition several specimens of structural geology and some economic exhibits, such as those relating to coal and manganese. Maps illustrating phases of Indian geology are displayed on its walls.

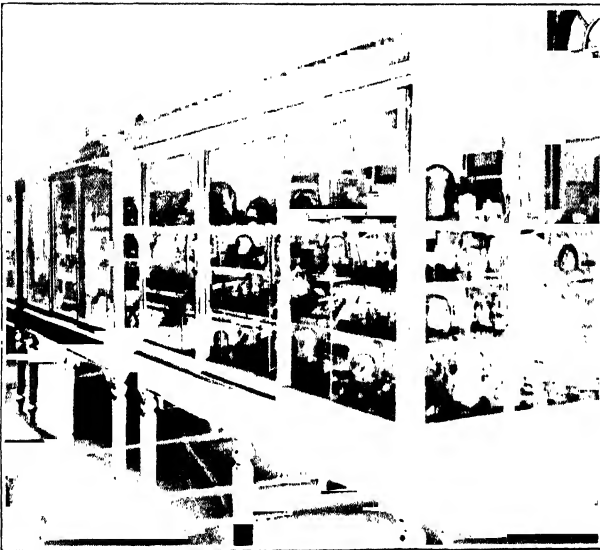
To the south of this gallery is the comparatively large Vertebrate fossil gallery also known as the Siwalik Gallery. In this are exhibited representatives from that very rich storehouse of Tertiary vertebrates, the Siwalik beds situated along the foot-hills of the Himalayas. A few foreign fossil specimens are also exhibited, and a chart illustrating the ancestry of man was recently put up in this gallery.

This completes the survey of the various public galleries of the Indian Museum. In this account I have not included the Picture Gallery which lies on the top floor of the Museum and which contains a very rich collection of pictures representing various schools of Indian paintings. Visitors have to obtain special permission from the Curator of the Art Section for visiting this gallery.

I am afraid I have given you a rather disjointed account of the very varied and extensive exhibits in the various galleries of the Indian Museum, but nothing better was possible in the course of a single lecture. I have not taken you behind the scenes with a view to explaining the very intricate and elaborate task of preparing the exhibits, of arranging them in a form suitable for exhibition, preparation of descriptive labels, and hundred-and-one other details connected therewith.

The Indian Museum, with its very rich and evergrowing collections and the important research work carried out in its different Sections, has played a very influential part in the cultural advance of the country. Started originally as the private museum of a Society, it has grown into an Imperial institution of vast proportions, and is at present the headquarters of several scientific surveys of the country. Like similar institutions in other countries, it is at the present moment congested and urgently needs more staff, space and funds for its expansion. Unfortunately the exhibition space in the Museum is overcrowded. In most of the galleries the show-cases are of an antiquated and unsuitable type, and the lighting also in most of them is very poor. As the

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The McGeorge Gallery

late Dr. Flower, a great authority in museums, rightly remarked, "A museum is like a living organism—it requires continual and tender care. It must grow or it will perish ; and the cost and labour required to maintain it in a state of vitality is not yet by any means fully realised or provided for". Every specimen in a museum is exhibited with a definite purpose, and the main lesson to be derived from the exhibited specimen must be distinctly indicated by the label affixed to it. Further, every specimen exhibited must be the best of its kind, and all available skill and care must be spent upon its preservation and exhibition. All these questions require a very large technical and highly trained staff and funds both for the maintenance and the further development of the museum. Unfortunately the growth of the Indian Museum, which is the only national institution of its kind in the country, is, for want of funds, space and staff, greatly hampered, and Dr. Brown Goode's maxim regarding museums seems to be entirely lost sight of in reference to the maintenance of this institution. He remarked—"One thing should be kept prominently in mind by any organisation which intends to found and maintain a museum, that the work will never be finished, that when the collections cease to grow they begin to decay. A finished museum is a dead museum, and a dead museum is a useless museum".

BAINI PRASHAD.

Currency in Orissa

BEFORE the acquisition of the Orissa by the English from the Marathas the prevailing currency was in cowries. On its acquisition the Commissioners for the affairs of Cuttack entered into engagements with the Rajahs and fixed the *peishcush* or revenue to be paid by them in terms of cowries. The Collector of Cuttack writes to Thomas Graham, Actg. President and Members of the Board of Revenue under date 9th June, 1806 :

“Gentlemen,

On the 7th of December, 1803 the Commissioners entered into engagement with the Kunka Rajah to demand to more than 84,840 Khwans of cowries at the rate of 4 Khwans 2 pans to the rupee or Rupees 20,586-8-10. I am directed to make settlement with the Rajah.”

From another letter it appears that the Commissioner entered into engagement with the Raja of Neelghorri (Ram Chunder Murdraj Hurrychandan) to pay a Peishkush of 23,400 Khwans of cowries. Here is a list of engagements with Rajas, Zemindars and Khundytes showing the payment or revenue in cowries :

			Rajah of the fort of	Amount of Peishkush.	
				Kh.	P. G.
Ram Kissen Deo	...	...	All	1,13,436	0 0
Ram Chunder Mehendar Bahadur	...	...	Dekanal	23,125	0 0
Sree Chundun	...	...	Bankee	20,135	0 0
Nursing Bhamerbur Ray	...	...	Kundiapara	19,100	0 0
Gour Churn Bhunj	...	...	Jourmo	3,000	0 0
Maun Dhata	...	...	Niagurh	26,450	0 0
Maun Sing Huree Chundun	...	...	Nursingpoor	6,601	0 0
Bajur Dhur Narinder	.	...	Runpoor	6,000	0 0
Jorwar Sing Murdraj	...	...	Angool	7,500	0 0
Kissen Chund Murdraj	...	...	Hindool	2,500	0 0
Bhagrutte Huree Chundun Tekait	...	...	Talchare	4,715	0 0
Chumput Sing	...	...	Tiggreeah	4,000	0 0
Sree Churn Bewirtah Patnaik	...	...	Autgur	28,111	13 0
Pindakee Mungraj	...	...	Burrambah	6,340	0 0

The Kists were Choit, Jite and Asar.

In another list (from Balasore Records) we find the following engagements :—

Ram Chunder Murdraj Hurry Chundun—Nilgiree	...	Rs. 23,400- 0-0
Janardan Bhunj—Keonjur	... ..	„ 12,000- 0-0
Modoosoodum Narinder Mohapater, Zemindar of Chedra	..	8,892-13-0

The rate of exchange per Arcot rupee in the case of Keonjur and Nilgiree being @ 4 Kh. and of Chedra being @ 3 Kh. 14 p.

Col. George Harcourt was appointed to be the Commissioner for the settlement of the Provinces, and J. Melvill, Commissioner for the affairs of Cuttack in 1803. They formed the Board of Commissioners.

In a letter dated the 21st March, 1804 addressed to the Board of Commissioners J. Hunter, Actg. Collector, Southern Division, Cuttack advises measures to be taken to prevent the secreting of cowries by merchants who do so to enhance their value and thereby gain profits.

In a letter addressed to R. Ker, Collector of Balasore (Northern Division, Cuttack) under date 10th March, 1805 T. Fortescue, Secretary to the Commissioners, informs him that the Board approves of the abolition of the duty on cowries recommended by him.

A proclamation date 10 October, 1804 contains instructions to Collectors for making the settlement of land revenue of the Province of Cuttack from the commencement of the Umlee year 1212. They were to bind the Zamindars and Landholders to pay their revenue in rupees, failing that in cowries, the rate of exchange being 4 khwans and 2 pans for one Calcutta Sicca rupee (see Collr's Vol. 413 ; Commissioners' vols. I & III ; letter to Charles Graeme, Collector of Jugunnath under date 10th Nov. 1804). The rate of exchange for Arcot rupees was also fixed at Rs. 107-8 Arcot rupees = 100 Calcutta Sicca rupees.

T. Fortescue, Secretary to Commissioners sent (8th Nov., 1804) to R. Ker, Collector Balasore a copy of Chief Secretary J. : Lumsden's letter to Col. Harcourt on the subject of receiving subscription to loan advertised in in the Calcutta Gazette of 25th October in Arcot rupees at this rate of exchange. In a letter of May 28, 1806 there is mention that engagement for payment of revenue was to be made under sec. 13 Reg. XII, 1805 and the revenue was to be paid in Calcutta Sicca rupees of the 19 Sun.

In a letter of the 18th Nov., 1804 C. Graeme is advised to make a payment of 5000 khwans to the Raja of Puttea on account of rent of certain villages which were said to appertain to him but which were then (1804) in the possession of Government. Similarly he was directed to pay 6000 kahwans of cowries to Unneeroodh Ray, son of Beerkishor Deo, deceased Rajah of Khoordah, which was the annual sum granted by the Mahrattas for the support of his family (1806).

There was a reluctance to receive payments in rupees. Charles Graeme, writes to T. Fortescue (5th Feb., 1805) that Dolgovinda, the Ruth Purcha, who was given cash of Rs. 285-15 as. 3 g. equivalent to cowries 10,606 ka—15 pans—3 gundas, refused to take the amount in rupees and demanded as cowries had become extremely scarce, and shroffs were unwilling to part with them at rates fixed by Government. The Secretary in a letter dated 14th April, 1805 instructed him to "compel Tahsildars under his authority to give all the cowries collected by them for the use of the Ruth and the Temple of Jugunnath to Dolgobind for the preparation of Ruth." Charles Graeme reports in a letter dated 18th May, 1805 that in the mofussil rents were collected in cowries which were paid to merchants for assignment on their houses at Cuttack @ 4 gandas for kahawn.

There was some difficulty in procuring cowries. Govt. was anxious to introduce Rupees and pice, and we have already seen that the Zamindars and Landholders were directed to pay their revenue in rupees, but when it was not possible, in cowries. The shroffs disposed of cowries at the rate of 3 kh. 4 pans per rupee, therefore "Ryots and Landholders would rather sell cowries to shroffs than allow Govt. to have them at 4 kh. 2 p." (Letter dated 11th April, 1805).

In a letter dated 7th May, 1805 the Secretary to the Commissioners sent to all the Collectors circular order regarding the currency of Mursheedabad 19 Sun sicca rupees in the Province of Cuttack and informed them that the Bengal Regulations would be applicable.

James Hunter, Collector of Pilgrim Tax, wrote a letter dated 26th April, 1806 to the President and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort William, saying that at Jugunnath the Govt. Nirukh for cowries was 4 kahun for sicca rupee, but it was difficult to procure cowries even @ 3 kh. 8 p. for rupee at that place. He applied to the Collector of Cuttack for ordering his Tehsildar to send cowries worth Rs. 1,000/- for payment to carpenters but the latter declined to furnish cowries.

Major Fletcher reported (17th—20th Nov., 1805) that the general currency in the Khoordah district was cowries or shells. When Fletcher proposed to send Fanams to George Webb, the Collector of Cuttack, in payment of public revenue, the latter told him that he could never receive, nor give receipt for them, as they were not legal currency.

The introduction of sicca rupees, caused dissatisfaction. The following letter is interesting:—

Gentlemen,

By a letter from the Chief Secretary to Government under date the 29th of October, 1804 the Arcot Rupee was ordered to be received at the exchange of 107 Arcot Rupees and eight annas for one Hundred Calcutta Rupees. The rate is now well established, but on proceeding to account by the Table of Rates contained in section 14, Regulation 35, 1793 I am exceed-

ingly apprehensive that a very serious dissatisfaction will arise among the cultivators.

" I expect this to be the cause of many leaving the Province.

"The dissatisfaction of the military at receiving seven kind of Rupees all different in number and value has been represented to me as very great.

Therefore, I beg leave to recommend that no alteration be made in the rate of receipt of the Arcot Rupee till the Sicca Rupee in sufficient quantity be introduced or at least till the expiration of the year 1215 umlee.

Zillah Cuttack

Revenue Dept.

The 30th June, 1806.

I have etc.

Geo. Webb

Collr.

On the other hand many coins of sorts were current, the rate of exchange of which was indeterminate. In a letter dated 22nd October, 1804 J. Hunter writes from Pimplee (Pipli) to the Secretary to the Commissioners asking for instructions regarding the rate of exchange at which he would "receive rupees coming under the denomination of Nagpooree, Teepooshahee, and those coined at Muchhooa Bunarus (*sic*), as they are not included in the denomination of Dumassha whose value was formerly fixed at 3 kahun 14 pan for Rupee." In the Balasore District Nagpooree and Chitterpooree coins were current (*vide* letter dated 27th Aug., 1805).

From a statement of collections on account of Pergana Puttashpore as per monthly Treasury Acct. from October 1803 to May 1805 we find the following :

Purgunnah.	Total realization Rupees of sorts.	Sicca Rupees.	Sonaut Rupees.	French rupees	Gursaul rupees.	Noera rupees.	Deduct batta as per Jama Wasil Bakee.	Net amount of Sicca rupees.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Puttaspore	17,868 0 0	1,196 0 0	...	...	150	16,522	1,506 9 9	16,861 6 11
Commarda Chaur	6,395 13 10	3,148 13 10	240	281	76	2,718	247	6,148 13 10

Mr. Webb wrote to William Egerton, Accountant to the Board of Revenue (on June 26, 1806) requesting the favour of his procuring for him directions at what rate he was to receive the kuttuckey rupees as they were not included in the list of rates of Regulation 35 of 1793.

From a correspondence with H. Stone, Sub-treasurer (1807) we find mention of different kinds of coins: viz., old Zahazee Arcot, French Arcot, Cuttackey, Soorty, Froossey, Dasmasee (Dumasaa Rupees 4822-5-12 making Sicca rupees 4485-10-0) and Muchlybundy rupees.

The following circular letter was received by R. Mitford, the Actg. Collector of Cuttack in July, 1810, from the Board of Revenue for his guidance in receiving 19 Sun Sicca coins in his treasury :

Extract from the Proceedings of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council in the Public Department under date the 20th June, 1810.

Accountant General's letter dated 16th June 1810.

* * * * *

Para. 6—With a view therefore to obviating the abuses which may be practised under the present mode of receiving coins at public Treasuries I would beg leave to recommend that the Rupees received at the public Treasuries shall not only be examined in the manner directed by the orders of Govt. of the 19th September, 1805 but that it shall also be the duty of the proper officers to examine the Rupees separately, and to reject all those which are more deficient in weight than in the proportion of six annas per cent., and that the remainder be then weighed by fifties according to the present rule.

The Collector of Cuttack reported to the Board of Revenue (20th Sep., 1810) that Sicca rupees were by no means in sufficient currency and circulation and he suggested a plan to remedy the difficulty—"that in all future despatch of Treasure to the General Treasury he may be empowered to offer to the respectable merchants and landholders the sicca rupees for Hoondeans payable to that Treasury thereby prohibiting the return of sicca to the Presidency or exportation from the Zillah". As the landholders experienced difficulty in procuring sicca coins it was found advisable to extend the period for the receipt of rupees of sorts for another year ; accordingly, under sec. 9, Reg. 4, 1807 the Collector was authorised to issue a publication notifying that rupees of sorts would be received at the treasury till the expiration of the current year 1218.

Cowries began to fall in price. A account of the progressive fall in prices and its disastrous effect on Zamindars and ryots is contained in a letter addressed by W. Trower, Collector of Cuttack to W. Egerton, Acct. General under date 1st December, 1812, extracts from which are given below :—

3rd Para—The fall in the price of cowries has been progressive. At the time of the promulgation of Regulation 12, 1805 by Section 13 of which the receipt of cowries in payment of revenue was restricted to a certain period they bore a higher price than what was the Govt. rate of exchange being K/3 P/14 G/10 for the rupee . . . the fact is that cowries had never been in sufficient quantities to admit of the Revenues being paid in them.

4—Mr. Fauquier did not allow a certain Zamindar to a pay his Revenues in cowries as his object was to create delay as he had no sufficient cowries to pay up $\frac{1}{4}$ of the balance amounting to Rs. 1100/-.

5—Rate of Exchange—

1214 umlee	...	...	3 14 10
1215 ..	...	...	4 0 10
1216 ..	...	...	4 6 0

Mr. Fauquier stated to the Commissioner—"that the quantity of specie brought in this district in the year 1214 and two years antecedent (?) had diminished its value."—that might have accounted for cowries keeping their price as long as they were received in payment of Revenue, but as soon as it was known that after a certain period they would not be received in payment at the Collector's Treasury, the rupee became from that moment of greater value than it had ever before been, and the cowrie fell in proportion—but as there still remained a certain period for the receipt of cowries at the Treasury and as an idea prevailed, that perhaps even when that period elapsed a longer time might be granted, the Shroffs immediately took advantage of the fall in the value of the cowrie and purchased them up at the rate of 5 and 6 kohuns the rupee and buried them in their houses thereby to make (profit ?) largely by their purchase, they were, however, disappointed in their expectations and many of them failed and were obliged to quit the District, and their hordes of cowries were thrown open to the market, thus affording a second cause for their Depreciation, by the unexpected quantities exposed for sale, and this is probably the only time that the cowries could have been purchased in any quantity.

6th—Rate of exchange for the last 3 years has been nearly as follows—

1217	...	...	Rs. 5 0 0
1218	...	...	.. 5 12 0
1219	...	...	.. 6 8 0 & even 7 kahuns.

notwithstanding this fall, the Zemindars could not, if option were given them, pay their revenues in cowries—"and I am given to understand that it was never formerly the case, that in the time of the Marhattas tho' the accounts were kept in cowries that the revenue was paid in the rupees—tho' not doubt at that time there was a much greater demand for cowries as the Marhatta troops were paid in that currency.'

7th— The Zamindars in this District are generally poor and needy and yet inclined to be extravagant, and when their kists fall due they are under the necessity of applying to the shroffs for advances, this advance is readily granted provided the shroffs are allowed to make their own terms—which are exorbitant, for instance, in advancing ten rupees to a Zamindar they will enter him in their books Dr. for 70 Cawuns of Cowries, but they will only receive back the rupees, at the Govt. rate of Exchange 4 k. 2 p. The Zamindars to enable them to bear their loss are obliged to pursue a similar line of conduct with their undertenants and the consequence is the frequent desertions of the District that take place from people being ruined—Thus it may in fact be that the cause in the Depreciation in the value of

cowries arises from the Arbitrary Demands of the Shroffs from the Zamindars who are obliged to force their undertenants to pay them the cowries at the same rate for the rupee and there appears to me no other method of affording relief to this distressed class of people than in endeavouring to supersede altogether the currency of Cowries, by the introduction of copper pice, which might be easily, I conceive, effected by the following means"

The rapacity of the shroffs alluded to in the extract quoted above appears from another letter dated 12th July, 1813 (no. 160, para 5). "It is customary in these districts for the shroffs and the monied men, who are few in number to advance the Zamindars for their current expenditure, at such times as they observe the several crops of the seasons to be in state of forwardness and even then the money is advanced at a most exorbitant rate, for 80 rupees advanced a bond for 100 rupees is granted bearing interest at 12 per cent. . . . Ruin overtakes the Zamindars when crop fails as it did last year."

It may be of interest to note here that E. Watson, Fourth Judge, Calcutta Court of Circuit, giving in his report dated 3rd May, 1817 an account of the causes of discontent that led to the disturbance of 1817 commonly known as the Khurda rebellion says that though the main cause of the disturbance was the treatment accorded to the Khurda Raja, yet the heavy loss to which the Zemindars were subject from the depreciation of price of cowries was one of its causes.

J. W. Sherer, Acct. General in his report dated 18th July, 1817 to H. Mackenzie, Secretary to Govt. Territorial Department while commenting on the depreciation of cowries observes (para 42): "The truth appears to be that the existence of cowrie currency no longer receivable in payment of revenue has been made the occasion of exaction and oppression."

The Acct. General sent the following letter to Mr. Trower (no. 200 dated 8th Feb., 1813):—"Having submitted your letter dated 1/2 last to the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General in Council I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Mint Master has been directed to remit to you the sum of Sicca Rupees Thirty Thousand in Copper money to enable you to disburse the same in the purchase of cowries for the Temple in the manner suggested in the 8th para of your letter and also in payment of Poolbundy advances or such other disbursements as may appear to you to be best calculated for checking the depreciation on cowries. Please report the effect which such remittance may have in attaining the object proposed in order that further remittances in pice may be made. . . ."

From a letter (dated 17th July, 1815) of A. J. Colvin, Joint Magistrate at Balasore and Assistant Collector of Govt., Customs it appears that cowries had become extremely scarce now, there being 15 cowries in cash balance of Rs. 3,552-7-15 (on 2nd June, 1815) in the Treasury of the Custom Dept.

The following kinds of coins were current in the district as it appears from an account of short weight coins despatched by Mr. A. Stirling Actg., Collector of Cuttack (on 29th December, 1820) to the Mint Master for re-

coinage—(Besides wholes, halves and quarters of Siccas)—Arcot, French Arcot, Cuttack, Gurnally (?), Surat, Naugpore rupees.

H. Shakespeare, Actg. Superintendent of Police in the Lower Province in a letter dated the 5th April, 1821 writes to the Magistrate of Balasore describing the process of drilling and debasing silver coin resorted to by criminals.

In a letter dated 28th April, 1823 the Acct. General informed W. Dent, Dy. Collector of Balasore that Captn. E. R. Broughton (Supdt. of Jaggernath New Road) was directed to forward to him 74,000 kahans of cowries of which he was requested to take charge, and to deliver to J. A. Schultz, Superintendent of the Chooramun Canal. As the cowries were broken he declined to take charge, ultimately he received into the treasury 39,204 kahans and 5 pans.

In a letter dated 27th December, 1823 addressed to A. Stirling, Actg. Deputy Collector, Balasore, we find mention of a statement prepared of selected cowries by Juggomohan Singh, Mohurer of his office, amounting to Rs. 41,856-4-0, which were safely brought under a military escort.

Regarding orders issued from the Acct. General's office on the subject of receiving light, chipped or otherwise debased rupees. H. Ricketts, Collector of Balasore, writes to G. Stockwell, Commissioner of Revenue, 9th Dn. Cuttack under date 2nd Sep. 1831 :— . . . Para 4.—“By the recent order all old rupees more than 6 annas per cent below the standard and all new rupees 1 a. 8 p. below the standard are to be received by weight only as bullion ; and Re. 1/- per cent is also to be demanded, so that supposing a zamindar presents 1000 rupees less in weight than 1000 standard rupees by 10 sicca weight, 20 sicca rupees will be demanded from him 10 to cover the deficiency in weight and 10 the percentage on 1000 light rupees at 1 per cent.” He recommends postponement on account of the hardship—Money was scarce in Balasore and he gave reasons given for it.

Although cowries had greatly depreciated in price still they were in demand in 1833. H. Ricketts, the Collector of Balasore, while giving a graphic description of the terrible misery and loss of life sustained by mahals on the sea coast from the hurricane of the 31st October, 1831 and irruption of the sea to R. Hunter, Commissioner under date 5th January, 1833, alludes to the scarcity of money, and the demand of cowries :

Para 8.—“The great scarcity of money I regard as the chief cause of distress which universally prevails and which existed before the hurricane happened. The existence of that scarcity is proved by the difficulty with which the revenue is realised, the low price of every article of commerce, and the ruinous interest demanded on a loan of money even when the ultimate recovery is certain. In 1806 cowries in which the revenue had previously been paid were committed (commuted?) for rupees at the exchange of 4 kawuns of cowrie for a rupee, at the present time the exchange price is 8 and sometimes 9 kawuns per rupee. The value of cowries has certainly depreciated, but the demand for them still exists, as the annual imports show,

and I believe the difference to be as much occasioned by the enhanced value of rupee as the lessened value of cowrie.

Para 9.—“Twenty four per cent is the interest commonly demanded and paid when the substance of the borrower is unquestionable, and in addition to that interest from persons whose resources are doubtful, a deposit of property is demanded.

To J. Doyly, Collector of Balasore, was sent an extract of letter of the Deputy Secretary to Govt. of the Territorial and Financial Dept., under date 19th May, 1829 to the effect that “the Governor-General in Council has resolved that from the present date all Deputation allowances are to be fixed and passed in Sonat rupees ; that is where the Deputation allowance has (been) heretofore granted in sicca rupees it will henceforth be authorised at the same number of Sonat rupees.”

J. Dorin, Accountant, Rev. Dept., Fort William, Calcutta wrote a letter dated 25th January, 1836 directing the Collector of Balasore to form all future settlements of the land revenue in Company's Rupees, anas, and paees instead of in sicca rupees, annas, gundas and kowries or sicca rupees, anas and paees as heretofore.

A notice was issued from the Financial Dept. on the 10th February, 1836 that from and after the 1st May, 1836 all Govt. accounts would be kept in Company's rupees. The same arrangement would take effect from and after the same date (1st May, 1836) at the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. (i.e. in pursuance of Act no. XVII of 1835). According to section 4 of the Act Company's Rupees were to be received as equivalent to Bombay and Madras rupees which were hitherto equivalent to Rs. 94-13-3 and Rs. 93-1-8 sicca rupees respectively for every hundred rupees.

In a letter dated 29th April, 1836, the Accountant, Rev. Dept., Fort William writes to the Collector of Balasore—“You are quite right in having sicca rupees 20 as equal to Company's rupees 21-5-4 on account of the Commissioner's subscription to the Civil Fund, the deduction made by the Civil Auditor in Company's rupees being at the rate of 6-10-8 per cent.”

According to Govt. Notice in Financial Dept. (dated 23rd March, 1836) Sicca rupees were declared not to be a legal tender from the 1st January, 1838 but were to be taken at all Govt. Treasuries as bullion liable to a seignorage duty of 1 per cent.

“Para 2.—The Sicca Rupees heretofore in circulation in the Bengal Presidency are as you will perceive by reference to the Regulation below cited :—

First—The 19 Sun Old Standard Morshidabad Sicca Rupee of Regn. XXXV of 1793 weighing $179\frac{2}{3}$ grains.

Secondly—The new standard Sicca Rupee of Regn. XIV of 1818 weighing 191·916 grains and

Thirdly—The new standard Sicca rupee of Regn. VII of 1833 weighing 192 grains.

These rupees must from the 1st proximo, in accordance with provisions of the act above cited, taken when tendered in payment of Govt. demands by weights of their own standards respectively—1 per cent sicca for every 100 sicca weight of Rupees of such standard as may be paid to you being demanded over and above, and separately credited as seignorage duty in your Treasury Accts. under the head of Mint Master of the Presidency after conversion into Co's Rupees at the intrinsic rate of 6-10-8 per cent."

The introduction of the new coinage in Company's rupees and making the Sicca rupee not legal tender occasioned difficulty to the ryots as Edward Repton, Collector, Balasore reports in his letter dated 12th August, 1838 to H. Ricketts, Commissioner, for at that time "the currency of the Balasore district averages less than one half of Company's coin."

By a circular of the Rev. Dept., dated 31st December 1838 the Collector was asked "to discontinue the receipt at your Treasury of Pyce of Reg. X of 1809, description.—size 19/20ths of an inch ; weight 8 anna, 9 pie sicca or 98¼ gr. and bearing inscription in Persian and Nagree only."

A circular was issued by Govt. (dated 10th Feb. 1843) on the subject of enforcing the general circulation of Govt. pice, requesting the Collectors to consult the principal shroffs regarding the quantity of pice in circulation both of Govt. and native coinage, and if the latter would fall into disuse if plentiful Govt. pice were supplied, and what would be the necessary supply requisite for general circulation.

The curcular of the Finance Dept. dated 31st January, 1845 gives a brief history of the copper currency :

Para 3.—"Independent of the copper coinage issued under the provisions of Acts XXI of 1835 and XXII of 1844 the Copper coins which have legal circulation in the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa are the copper Pyce struck at the Calcutta Mint in conformity with Reg. XXV of 1817 weighing 100 grains troy each and the half anna piece and pie piece weighing respectively 200 grains and 33·333 grains troy coined under Reg. III of 1831."

Besides these coins struck in conformity with the Regulations quoted there were others previously issued from the Calcutta Mint, which though not legalised by special enactment, the Govt. is nevertheless undoubtedly bound to recognise.

These may be briefly stated as follows:—From May, 1796 down to the years 1808/09 single Pyce were issued each, weighing 12 annas or 134¾ gr. and half-pyce each weighing 6 annas or 67¾ gr. the former at 64 and the latter at 128 to one rupee.

In October 1808 the weight of the single pice was reduced 9 annas or 10, 106 gr. and on August 1817 to 100 gr. by Reg. XXV of 1817. No half pyce of this description was issued.

In 1808/9 Behar Single Pyce each weighing 101 grains were coined to circulate at 64 to the rupee.

Moreover, from December 1807 down to the passing of Reg. X of 1809, there was a coinage of Benares double Pyce, each of $197\frac{1}{2}$ gr. single pyce of $98\frac{1}{4}$ gr. and half pyce each of $49\frac{1}{8}$ gr. which though struck for and re-mitted to Benares, can hardly be held to come within the provisions of Reg. X of 1809.

Para. 7—By Act XIII of 1836 all Pyce struck at the Mints of Benares and Furruckabad, under the Provisions of Regulations X of 1809, VII of 1814, and XXI of 1816 are to be legal tenders in the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and by Act XIII of 1844 Trisoollee Pyce were declared altogether illegal and withdrawn from circulation.

Old Pyce were sent to the Mint Master for recoinage. (21 Nov., 1845).

K. P. MITRA.

Some Recent Discoveries etc. including a large vault in the Calcutta Cathedral.

THE discovery of this spacious vault, the only one of its kind in an Indian Cathedral, is narrated in the following article which appeared in the Calcutta Diocessan Record in July, 1934 and which was reproduced by the "Statesman" on 4th July, and the "Times" London on 20th July.

"We are informed by Mr. W. S. Birney, who has been investigating the matter, that a large vault thirty feet by eighteen feet by six feet exists under the high altar of "St. Paul's Cathedral" Calcutta, and that this was intended as a sepulchre for the Metropolitan Bishops of Calcutta. The descent into it was by means of steps leading from a moveable slab of marble in front of the altar. All traces of the vault have been lost, but Mr. Birney is of the opinion, that it exists in the position indicated and if he had been buried in accordance with his expressed wish, the vault will contain the mortal remains of Bishop Wilson, the founder of the Cathedral. This wish is contained in the following extract from the Bishop's will. "I desire that if I die in India, my body be interred in the vault which has been erected under the Communion Table of St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta."

The fact that this vault actually exists under the Sanctuary floor of the Cathedral, is confirmed by Bishop Wilson, in his letter dated 28th July, 1843, in which he refers to it thus :—

The other morning in my early drive, I met Captain Greene at my Cathedral. He was walking up and down in the vault which is being built for me under the Communion Table. It will be thirty feet by eighteen feet by six feet high. The descent is simply by steps from a large moveable marble slab under the Communion precincts etc.

With regard to his remains being laid to rest in this vault, there can be no doubt, for sufficient proof of this is given in the account of the burial service, which took place on the evening of Monday 4th January, 1858. Among other details it is stated :—

1. The mortal remains of the Venerable Prelate were consigned to their last resting place at St. Paul's Cathedral etc.
2. The coffin is laid immediately under the Communion Table in a vault constructed for this purpose.

Moreover, from December 1807 down to the passing of Reg. X of 1809, there was a coinage of Benares double Pyce, each of $197\frac{1}{2}$ gr. single pyce of $98\frac{1}{4}$ gr. and half pyce each of $49\frac{1}{8}$ gr. which though struck for and remitted to Benares, can hardly be held to come within the provisions of Reg. X of 1809.

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1. The mortal remains of the Venerable Prelate were consigned to their last resting place at St. Paul's Cathedral etc.
2. The coffin is laid immediately under the Communion Table in a vault constructed for this purpose.

3. Everyone vied with each other to have a last parting look at the place where the Venerable Divine's remains were laid and everyone seemed impressed with deep sorrow for the loss they had sustained.

The Reverend Welbore McCarthy, a Senior chaplain of the Cathedral and later, Archdeacon of Calcutta and Bishop of Grantham, in a letter dated 10th December 1924 (in my possession) further confirms having seen the coffin in the vault and writes :—

I remember looking through gratings close to the ground and seeing Bishop Wilson's coffin lying on the ground not far from the (I think) south wall of the church.

The writer has also often viewed the coffin, which appears to be in a perfect state of preservation. The stone supports of the vault however seem to be somewhat disturbed in places, due probably to the severe shocks of earthquake experienced in the city since the death of the Bishop. It is not known how the coffin came to be placed in its present position on the north side of the vault and the only conclusion that one can possibly come to, is that the leaden shell must have been placed there originally and that after the encasing, it was found to be too heavy to remove and place under the Communion Table.

It may be of interest perhaps to mention here, that no provision was made in the original plans of the Cathedral to build a vault. This was done at a later date when the foundations were extended to build a larger edifice, and probably also with a view to avoid any contravention of the conditions under which the Government gave the Bishop the land to build his Cathedral. One of these conditions was :—

"The ground to be thus attached to the Cathedral, it is expressly conditioned shall in no case be made use of for the purpose of Sepulture, and that no Monument or other structure of any description whatsoever shall be raised hereafter within the space enclosed. Any breach of these injunctions will involve the forfeiture of the permission now granted".

It is regrettable that all traces of this vault appear to have been lost at the time of Bishop Lefroy's death, or else he would surely have been laid to rest within the vault.

From a letter in my possession from one of the three dignitaries of the church who interviewed the Governor, asking for permission to bury the Bishop in the Cathedral close, it is evident that these gentlemen were not aware of the existence of the vault, hence their request.

2. STAINED GLASS WINDOW IN MEMORY OF BISHOP MILMAN.

The discovery of this Memorial was also published in the Calcutta Diocesan Record of July, 1934 in the following article :—

"It has been left to Mr. W. S. Birney to bring to light another memorial to Bishop (Milman). This is a stained glass east window in Christ's Church

(Rawalpindi). The discovery of the window is recorded in the following extract from a letter from the Chaplain of Rawalpindi to Mr. Birney, dated 7th May, 1934 :—

I find, also, that you are right in regard to the east window of this church : having cleared away a lot of birds' nests and rubbish from the outside of the window, I find that it is dedicated to Bishop Milman. It is in a good state of preservation. I have but recently come back to the station, but I was Chaplain here from 1926 to 1929, and during that time heard many comments on the Bishop's grave in the cemetery, but never of the fact that the window in the church is dedicated to him. I should think that scarcely anybody knows of this and I am interested to discover it. It is the only stained glass window that we have got, and I had taken it for granted that it had been erected by some regiment in the dim and distant past.

This window was designed and made by Jones and Willis, London, and is a beautiful piece of work in stained glass. It consists of a central light representing our Lord as "The Good Shepherd" carrying the Lamb in His Arms two side lights, containing figures of Angels bearing scrolls with the words "Feed my Sheep" and "Feed my Lambs". The three small top lights represent, (1) "The Holy Ghost descending in the form of a dove" ; (2) "The Pelican" ; (3) "The Lamb with a Banner". Along the base of the window runs the following inscription :—

In Memoriam Roberte Milman Episcopo Calcuttenis, 1876.

The window was erected to the memory of the Bishop by the ladies of the Diocese of Calcutta.

It is common knowledge that Robert Milman, seventh Bishop of Calcutta (1866-1876) died at Rawalpindi on 15th March, 1876, while on a visitation to the province of Punjab and that his remains were buried in the cemetery at Rawalpindi. The monument erected over his grave by his sister, was designed by an eminent London Architect and is in the form of an Altar-Tomb and executed in white marble.

The length of the memorial stone is seven feet by three feet wide, supported by four columns at the corners and finished with carved capitals. The upper slab slopes slightly from the head to the foot and carries a Cross in relief six feet in length. On it are carved, "The Episcopal Cross", "The Pastoral Staff" and "The Mitre", insignias of the Episcopal office. The sides of the tomb are also carved and on the tombstone is the following inscription :—

In loving memory of Robert Milman, D.D.

Bishop of Calcutta.

Born 25th January, 1816. Died 15th March, 1876.

"Be thou faithful unto death and I will
give thee a Crown of Life".

3. HISTORICAL CHAIR IN THE BISHOP'S PALACE AT CALCUTTA.

In the Bishop's library there is to be seen a quaint-looking old fashioned chair of great historical interest. The origin of this chair may be known to a few persons, but most people seem to have the impression, that it was brought to this city by some "Indiaman" in the dim and distant past.

It's history however dates back to January, 1835, and recalls the first visitation of Bishop Wilson to South India. Being keenly interested in the work of the pioneer missionaries to South India, the Bishop visited the various centres at which they laboured and arrived in due course at Tanjore, where the great missionary Schwartz spent the concluding twenty years of his life. While here he visited the Mission (Christ's) Church and the mission house built by Schwartz. Before leaving the house, the Bishop was glad to be able to secure a few relics of the missionary, which he treasured. They were, Schwartz's "pocket Testament", a "lock of his silvery hair" and an "old Danish chair" with round back and rattan sides, in which Schwartz used to sit and study. This chair the Bishop ordered to be repaired, after which it was sent to his study in Calcutta, where it still remains.

WILLIAM S. BIRNEY.

Our Library Table

Studies in Indo-Muslim History : A Critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by its own Historians with a foreword by Sir Richard Burn Kt., C.S.I. : by Shahpurshah Hormasji Hodivala ; 1939.

ELLIOT and Dowson's "History of India as told by its own Historians"—eight volumes—is a monumental work—completed some sixty years ago. These volumes are indispensable to all serious students of the Muhammadan period of Indian History, as they consist of annotated translations either of entire works or of excerpts from manuscripts of most Persian histories for the period. Their value is all the greater in view of the fact that the rarity of many of these manuscripts makes it impossible for most students to consult them. Sir Henry Elliot did real service to Indian History by collecting these manuscripts at a time when most of them were still available, and the high position he held in the Home Department of the Government of India enabled him to secure many manuscripts which would not have been available to less happily placed collectors. Prof. Dowson completed the work of edition, translation and arrangement of the various volumes after Sir Henry's death, but naturally with only single manuscripts in most cases and often with only copies or excerpts ; his versions and translations therefore are always not exact. Prof. Hodivala in his "Studies in Indo-Muslim History" has provided a critical commentary of the eight volumes and has not only corrected chronologies in disputed cases, but also verified facts and rejected statements which appeared inaccurate or where based on inadequate evidence. His corrections of the names of persons and places are of special value.

There is no such thing, however, as perfection in this world, and Prof. Hodivala's work is no exception to this rule. The author has at times unduly compressed his critical notes. But it may be rightly contended that nothing else was possible within the compass of a single volume of this size, consisting as it does of 727 pages. It is true that the author has referred to most of the extensive literature which has recently appeared. But in regard to Ibn Batuta and Tabaqāt-i Nasiri he should not have omitted to refer to Dr. Mahdi Husain's 'The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq' (printed in 1938). Similarly he would have done well to refer to Tabaqāt-i Akbari, the text of which was brought out in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in Vols. 1-3 (in 1913-35) and the English Translation recently revised and edited so ably by Dr. Bani Prashad of the Indian Museum. He would also have done well to refer, on pages 5 and ff. of his book, to the research work done by the two Bombay Civilians Sir James Campbell and A. M. T. Jackson in respect of Gurjaras and Gurjara empire, instead of referring to the compilation works of V. A. Smith

and C. V. Vaidya. In spite of these desiderata, we warmly and sincerely congratulate Prof. Hodivala on the production of such a gigantic work replete with patient labour and erudition ; and we have no doubt that before long his 'Studies' will be considered as an additional volume of Elliot and Dowson which no scholar of Indo-Muslim History can possibly afford to ignore.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

Calcutta Historical Society

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held at the Spence's Hotel, Calcutta, on Monday the 17th July 1939, at 6 P.M. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., on the chair.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali the Honorary Secretary of the Society read the Annual Report for the year 1938.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1938.

In introducing the Annual Report of the Calcutta Historical Society for the year 1938 I have great pleasure in informing its members that the Society has completed the 32nd year of its existence.

Financial Position :—In the year under review the total number of members was as follows :

Life member	...	25
Ordinary member	...	84
Honorary member	...	13
		<hr/>
		122

against 125 of the previous year.

From the Abstract Statement of Accounts of the General Fund and the Index Fund for the year 1938, submitted by Messrs. Lovelock & Lewes, the Honorary Auditors of the Society, it will be seen that our balance in the Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd., up to the 31st December, 1938, amounts to Rs. 1,285-1-0 out of which the sum Rs. 103-10-7 belongs to the Index Fund, and Rs. 1,181-6-5 to the General Fund including the Fixed Deposit of Rs. 1000/-. We offer our sincere thanks to Messrs. Lovelock & Lewes for kindly auditing the accounts of the Society year after year free of charge.

Arrears :—The subscription of 17 Ordinary members—amounting to Rs. 780/- is in arrear. Owing to heavy arrears and also as a result of dilatoriness on the part of some of the members in paying their subscriptions the Executive Committee of the Society was reluctantly compelled to decide at the last annual meeting to publish the journal "Bengal: Past and Present" half-yearly at least for the year under report. It is very much

to be regretted that the financial position remains almost unchanged and the Executive Committee can only undertake the responsibility of bringing out two such half-yearly numbers (January to June, and July to December 1939) in the current year also.

In the interest of the Society and its valuable journal "Bengal : Past and Present" the Executive Committee appeals to all the members of the Society to co-operate with it not only in realizing the subscription in arrears but also in increasing the membership of this learned institution.

Before expressing our sincere thanks to all those who have helped our Journal with their valuable contributions, we must place on record our sense of gratitude to Mr. Percy Brown for readily accepting the honorary editorship of the journal in place of Mr. C. W. Gurner, I.C.S., and also to Major Harry Hobbs, V.D., who inspite of his numerous activities continued to perform with great vigour and enthusiasm the important duties of Hony. Treasurer. He also very kindly permitted the Committee to store in his office, free of charge, all the books, records, blocks, and other properties of the Society.

Among others, the Society is grateful to Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore, K.C.I.E., Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Maharaj Kumar Raghubir Singh, D.Litt., LL.B., Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Dr. A. P. Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Dr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D., Dr. S. K. Banerjee, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. (Lond.), Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. (Cal.), Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., Major H. Hobbs, V.D., and Mr. N. Ganguly for their valuable contributions to the Society's journal.

Nawabzada A. S. M. Latifur Rahaman proposed and Khan Bahadur K. M. Asadullah seconded the report was carried unanimously.

The Honorary Treasurer Major H. Hobbs read the audited account and financial statements drawn up by the Hony. Auditors Messrs. Lovelock and Lewes.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., proposed and Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali seconded the adoption of the audited accounts, it was carried unanimously.

Arrears subscription. Proposed from the Chair, and resolved that one month's time should be given to the members who are in arrears for over three years for payment, and if they fail to pay their respective subscriptions within that time their names may be struck off from the list of members.

It was also resolved that attempt should be made to issue the half-yearly number (January to June, 1939) of "Bengal : Past and Present" as early as possible.

On the proposal of Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., was unanimously elected Honorary Editor of the Society in place of Mr. Percy Brown on leave to England for the illness of his wife.

On the proposal of Nawabzada A. S. M. Latifur Rahman all the office bearers of the previous year were unanimously re-elected for the year 1939.

It was resolved that there should be at least two special general meetings in winter, when some interesting papers may be read.

It was further resolved that there should be a meeting at every three months, and that a general meeting should be called next month by giving a previous notice of a fort-night, and one paper may be read at each meeting.

With a vote of thanks to the chair and to Major H. Hobbs for his kind hospitality the meeting dissolved.

CALCUTTA,
The 17th July, 1939.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT. CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

GENERAL FUND.

Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December 1938.

RECEIPTS			PAYMENTS		
	Rs.	AS. P.		Rs.	AS. P.
To Balance as at 1st January 1938.			By Printing including Blocks & Reprints	998	11 0
With Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.			Honorarium & Pay	290	0 0
On Current Account	322	15 5	Bank Charges	1	14 0
" Fixed Deposit	1,200	0 0	Postage, Stationery and Sundries	93	14 0
" Imprest Cash with the Hony. Treasurer	5	0 0	Amount transferred to Index Fund	200	0 0
Subscriptions realised			Balance at 31st December 1938		
Arrears	260	0 0	With Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.		
Current	828	0 0	On Current Account	181	6 5
Advance	20	0 0	" Fixed Deposit	1,000	0 0
Sale of Society's Journal				1,181	6 5
Interest on Fixed Deposit					
				Rs. 2,765	13 5

Examined and found correct.

LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Registered
Hony. Auditors.

Calcutta,

5th July, 1939.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.
CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

INDEX FUND.

Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December, 1938.

RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS			
	Rs.	AS.	P.		Rs.	AS.	P.
To Balance at 1st January 1938				By Bank Charges	0	5	0
With Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.				Postages	5	0	0
On Current Account ...	968	15	7	Printing & Index, etc. ...	1,093	0	0
Amount transferred from				Balance at 31st December 1938			
General Fund ...	200	0	0	With Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.			
Sale of Index ...	33	0	0	On Current Account ...	103	10	7
	Rs. 1,201	15	7		Rs. 1,201	15	7

Calcutta,
5th July, 1939.

Examined and found correct.
LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Registered Accountants,
Hony. Auditors.

